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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Athens Album Archaeology



On Improving the Shining Hour . *Joshua Whatmough*

Our cover drawing represents an archaic mask of Zeus, about four and a half inches high, from Rhodes. Drawn by S. G. Brady from a photograph by C. T. Brady, Jr.

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A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION TO MODERN LIFE

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Trends and Events

Edited by *Dorrance S. White*

ARE CLASSICISTS TEACHING WELL?

GEORGE GENZMER, CLOSING HIS review of Gilbert Highet's already popular book, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1949), in the January 7, 1950 issue of *The Nation*, comments upon Highet's view that classicists have had a tendency during the past hundred years to become more and more specialized, with the danger of ceasing to be a force in the lives of the greater number of intelligent people. "A good share of the responsibility he lays on classical scholars themselves, with their rheumatic translations, inept teaching, and preoccupation with side issues." Then Genzmer nods assent with these words, "True enough, yet the humanities have always been taught badly, for they make such demands on teachers that only the more gifted can measure up to them."

This editor thinks that such a statement might bear challenging. I am not sure that I know what a "rheumatic translation" is, unless it is one that inflames one who knows what the original really says. Perhaps it hobbles along, as one does whose joints move none too flexibly. At any rate, the humanities, and especially the Classics, have always been taught rather well in comparison with other subjects in the curriculum, such as the social studies, let us say, and philosophy. Possibly Mr. Genzmer catches us with his "pre-occupation with side issues." High school teachers do have an enormous amount of clerical work that interferes with the best Latin teaching; and college teachers edit columns and news letters and attend conferences and patch up disintegrated papyri. Perhaps Mr. Genzmer has sat in on some of our philological and linguistics discussions and concluded that, so far as hitting the vital part of our target, we had outlimboed even Dante's *Inferno*. Perhaps the Classics could stand overhauling. Unless the trouble that Genzmer finds is due to too much overhauling.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR AGAIN

A CERTAIN SCHOOL BOARD in one of the larger cities of Iowa has recently laid down the ruling that unless the high school seniors show definite improvement in their use of English grammar they won't get their graduation diplomas! Some of the students themselves are quoted as saying, "We just don't know our English." So the school board ordered the seniors to be drilled in basic eighth and ninth grade English grammar.

Those of us who were teaching high school Latin in the early 20's or before remember well the dictum that came out from the offices of school superintendents that the quondam drill on English grammar be stopped and in its place be substituted a sort of "reading-Latin-as-Latin" method of approach, in which the pupil was to get his ideas of grammar *functionally*, i.e. painlessly, unconsciously, effortlessly—i.e. utterly inadequately. For thirty years that has been the trend. And it took an Iowa school board to explode in the face of that theory. But the board is quoted as saying "it would be shirking its duty if it turned students into the world without a good knowledge of basic grammar." I suspect that other states could tell as dismal a tale. And what is the remedy? At least two years of Latin under a lively teacher who knows how to direct an intelligent grammar-translation method, using one of our half-dozen better first- and second-year textbooks.

LATIN PEP MEETINGS

THE EDITOR LAMENTS that there is not space to describe the many fine pep meetings (Latin Forums) that have been held in classical circles, such as that held at Winthrop College, S. C., an account of which was sent to this column by Miss Donniss Martin, presiding officer. A tremendous amount of work by the P.O.? True, but what enthusiasm it arouses among Latin folk and their parents! All of which we need.

THE CLASSICS AND ADULT EDUCATION

HERE IS AN EXCERPT from a letter that recently came to our desk:

"However, University College, of which the Home-Study Department is a part, has adopted a policy of serving adult needs. This is a policy which serves to distinguish University College from the rest of the University and to enable it to formulate a philosophy and curriculum in a unified and integrated fashion. One may disagree

with the policy; none of us can be perfect. I am sure, however, that you will agree that the need for adult education is a great one indeed and that the University of ——— can make a significant contribution in this direction.

"What this means so far as the Classics are concerned is that we must necessarily let other institutions serve students who are interested in Greek and Latin, since the Classics are not typically an adult educational need" [italics mine—Ed.].

Only the briefest comment is needed to prove the absurdity of this italicized paragraph. If the Classics are not an adult educational need, will some one explain why, within the space of less than two years, one section of 35 University of Iowa students seeking to learn how to use potent Latin- and Greek-derived words in original sentences grew into seven sections numbering 225? The Classics not an adult educational need? Good oral and written expression not an adult educational need? Dear Zeus, plunge us into the depths below and let us, throughout eternity, help Tantalus get a drink!

TRENDS AT THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

ON THE ROAD HOME from our CAMWS conference at Cleveland, it was pleasant to review the wealth of material in many fields presented there and to realize that each person attending was no doubt carrying home with him not only inspiration, but new ideas, new techniques, and new conceptions of the possibilities and values of his own work.

It was a most fruitful conference. May I review with you some of the things that stood out for me in the program? For instance, on the high school program of the final day I was greatly impressed by the personalities, the abilities, the earnestness, and the social vision of the Latin teachers who took part. From the "Humanities" symposium of Friday afternoon I find sticking to my consciousness Walter Agard's distinction between a Survey Course and the Classics Course which he is offering with the "Wisconsin Integrated Liberal Studies Program." The problem: how to give the vital essence of the Classics in a foreshortened general course that adequately offers the contribution of literature to humanity. In a true survey course, he reminded us, it was possible to mention nearly all the names, classifications, place in the literary history of all the books we have been accustomed

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 378

*The importance of ASPECT in understanding verbs—
Older than tense, and still to be considered . . .
Teachers take note . . .*

On Improving the Shining Hour

Joshua Whatmough

IT IS NOT SELF-EVIDENT that the few remaining young men and women now doing Classics in college are spending either their time or their money wisely. Apologists for Greek and Latin, being both numerous and voluble, only arouse suspicion; they are also, without exception, unconvincing. This follows, as the night the day, from the admission of translations. So soon as teachers of Greek and Latin consented to "teach" the Classics in English, they had abandoned, apparently without knowing it, their own cause. Grant that translations give what the Greek and Latin originals give, whatever it is that they do give, and there is no argument for learning Greek and Latin: which of the real swine is to know that the pearls of Loeb or Budé are only artificial?

(Harvard's distinguished philologist here presents an insight into understanding Latin that will not be found in standard grammars. Tense and aspect together often confuse understanding and translation, when translation reflects only tense without aspect.

Professor Whatmough was born in Lancashire, England, and is a graduate of the University of Manchester and Cambridge University. Since 1926 he has been at Harvard University. Among his best-known works are *Pre-Italic Dialects of Italy* and *Foundations of Roman Italy*. In addition to numerous articles in the field of linguistics, he has served as editor of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, and is an associate editor of *Classical Philology* and *Word*.

THIS IS THE THIRD of three monitored, not monitory, articles. The others have appeared in *The Phoenix* 2, 1948, 65-72 and *Classical Weekly* 43, 1949, 19-22. Their common theme, a grammatical stipulation: strict attention to matters of verbal exegesis. This condition fulfilled, books about semantics, about how to read a book—or a page, or a word—may be burnt with no loss either to scholarship or to intellectual freedom. Language is the key wherewith man unlocks his universe.

Language has more than one quality. There are also some things that it is not. It is not an organism, as some believed in the last century. It is not a mechanism, as many believe now. It does serve as a relation that binds individual humans together, in ways as manifold and as complex as men themselves and as their activities. It effects what is fashionably called their "etherialization" from crude physical matter and relations, and it is necessary to intellection. It satisfies some of the aesthetic needs of the sensitive, and the emotional of all. It is pro-presentative and symbolic, though not more so in Greek than in English—or in Ashanti; and so far from being the servant first and foremost of liars, as a general rule language tells us the truth, or some of the truth. For, as it has been put,

"it speaks well for the veracity of human parents, that their children ever learn to talk at all." Finally, a language is a pattern, a pattern which has rules, but flexible rules; which imposes its requirements of usage, and at the same time allows a freedom of choice. A perfect and completed language, if it existed, would be the end of a dead-end street. The assurance that our own language both can and will be remade to fit the pattern of twentieth-century ways is a more promising guarantee for the future than the Atlantic pact or than Unesco itself. It is, I think, safe to predict that the pattern will be remade in such a way as to accommodate concepts that are now expressed only in highly technical or scientific discourse, or even only in mathematical formulae. How this will be done is not predictable; but it is certain that the intellectual nihilism of the self-styled semanticists, the end of which is anarchy, will not be followed far or by many; and no attempt that I have seen to adapt symbolic logic to conversational language can be considered encouraging.

"Common sense" speaks of objects (denomination) in action (predication) more clearly than of events in space-time in all linguistic patterns developed so far. Those who live to use, or are born to use a category of space-time will find it no stranger than the category of case in a language like Latin or of tense and aspect in a language like Greek. In pre-dialectal Indo-European, case is concerned chiefly with spatial relationships; more abstract notions are secondary. In the finite verb aspect played a greater part than tense. It is tempting, but idle, to speculate on the causes of the transition from kind of action in the verb, to time of action. In any event, it is probable that the concept of motion or velocity is older than the concept of time, which may well have been derived from the contemplation of things in motion—either forwards and backwards, or forwards only.

Be that as it may, there are some curious relics of aspect in both Greek and Latin, and to these, for their own interest, the present paper is devoted. It makes no claim to novelty, unless here and there in the interpretation of

particular passages in authors, but, like the other two, is written simply in the belief that it contains some things not as well known as they ought to be by most of those who teach or study, or both teach and study, the Classics; and that those who will attend to them will find the attention both rewarding in itself and illuminating to the subjects of their teaching and study. Not that verbal aspect is strange to English, or to any language. Only the manner of expressing it is not so obviously formal as in Latin, or more obviously still in Greek or in Russian. If in English we say "he burst into tears," that is ingressive aspect, just as much as *ἐβασίλευσε* "he became king," in Greek. So in Latin *ardescit*, *proficiscor* (hence the perfect must be *arsit*, *profectus sum*); though most verbs in *-sc-* indicate not ingressive but progressive aspect, like *ἀποθνήσκει* "he is an unconscionable long time a-dying," but *τέθνηκε* "he is dead," of which I shall say more presently. For the moment it will do to point out that many of the so-called "irregularities" in the forms of Greek and Latin verbs, "alternants" as they are now generally and better known, become simple enough to understand and "regular," once the historical principles that govern them are explained.

Thus *uideo* but *uīdi* and *uīsus* with the alternants *i:i* (from *oi* in *uīdi*, from *ī* followed by *d* + *t* in *uīsus*), and the alternants *d:s* are the result of normal phonematic substitutions. But the *-to-* forms, such as **uīd-tós*, whence *uīsus*, began their history not as participles, but as adjectives, e.g. *mūtus* "dumb," *altus* "high," exactly like the *-no-* adjectives such as *dignus* "worthy," or Greek *πῶρος* "probable." That is the reason why they may be either active (or "middle") or passive, present or past. The middle, i.e. reflexive, force is familiar in the participles of deponent verbs, and in such constructions as *lacrimis oculis suffusantentes*, a construction of the accusative with the deponent verb which is Umbrian as well as Latin. That is to say it belongs to Italic as a whole, and therefore may not be explained in Latin by an appeal to Greek influence.

It is not so commonly realised, however, that *tacitus* means "keeping silence" as well as

"silenced"; that *Fortuna Barbata* was not so much a circus freak, the bearded lady, as the goddess of a man's destiny (*Fortuna uirilis*) as distinguished from a woman's (*muliebris*). So *necessum* and *necesse* (to *-to-* and *-ti-* forms respectively) mean "there is no way out." In Vergil's *stat ductis sortibus urna* there is nothing in the picture save an empty urn if the "lots have been drawn"—but the meaning is "there stands the urn, and the lots are being drawn." Similarly Varro's *avant iacto semine* is "they plough, scattering the seed as they go," like Vergil's

haec loca non tauri . . .
inuertere satis inmanis dentibus hydri

for men do not sow before they plough, any more than sailors devote their time to the study of astronomy once they have returned safe to port:

in patriam uentosa per aequora uectis

(where *uectis* translates *φερομένοις*).

Moneta, the epithet of Juno, interpreted as the "warner," (cf. *monerint* beside *monui*) is not passive (except insofar as worshipper and goddess may be identified), but active, like the Oscan *genetai* (dat. sg. fem.), an epithet of Ceres, not "begotten" but concerned with begetting, creative i.e. "begetting," or "of begetting." Doubtless, as Dean Inge somewhere wrote, the whole of life consists of the verb to eat, conjugated in either the active or the passive—if you do not eat, you will be eaten, if only by worms; but *pransus* means "having breakfasted," not "having been breakfasted upon," and *potus* "having taken a drink" not "having been drunk" (in either sense). So in Umbrian *šersnatur* (n. pl., masc., of a *-to-* participle) is "having dined," not "having been dined upon." These forms, with their archaic meanings, make *crines soluta*, or Plautus' *hoc quod induta sum*, the latter precisely like Umbrian *perca arsmatiam anouihimu* i.e. "uirgam ritualet induitor," easily intelligible.

From a formal point of view a subjunctive or optative present shows the same kind of structure as a "tense." Thus *eram* (impf. indic.) is formed in the same way as *fuam* (subj.), *regēs* (fut.) as *amēs* (subj.), *βήσομεν* in

Homer is not future but subjunctive, and an optative *φανοῖμεν* does not differ from a future *φανοῖμεν* in structure, but only in the vocalic elements involved in the formation of the stem. In the moods "tenses" are secondary (i.e., they are formed from the "present" on the analogy of the "tenses" of the indicative), and therefore differ considerably from one Indo-European language to another. What then is the difference between mood and tense?

Kinds of Action

THE FACT IS THAT the tenses began as aspects, i.e. they emphasized the kind of action described (as progressive, continuous, perfective, momentary or the like) rather than the time at which it took place (past, present, future). But these are aspects of actuality, and objective in tone; the moods (subjunctive and optative) are rather subjective, and state an action as wished or willed. These latter meanings, however, are not far removed from future, for necessity is the mother of invention, and the wish is father to the thought. So too the imperative is subjective (intent) and also the injunctive (e.g. *ne attigas*, prohibition).

Properly speaking, language (which is a relation of events, things which happen or have happened) can no more have a future than we can describe that of which we have no experience, except in negatives (*im-mortal*) or vague terms (*eternal*, *sempiternal*). Scientific statements are only apparent exceptions ("Water will boil at 212° F"), for your scientist admits that in any given case his rule may be violated; and the future is, in fact, only a verbal anticipation of what is likely to happen, based on the memory of past events. Both *will* and *shall* are present forms (as in Old English), no less than *je vais dire*, Vulgar Latin *dicere habeo* (now *je dirai*), Classical Latin *portabo* (in which *-bo* is the present of the verb "to be"), Greek *λέσω* (this is to be compared with the presents *αἰέω* or *uiso* and similar presents in *-s-*), or Latin *regam* (compare the present subjunctive); *εἰμι* means "I shall go" only because "to go" is futuristic ("stand not upon your going, but go"), so that *ἐρχομαι* in New Testament Greek came to replace

εἶμι, and again ἔδομαι (which looks so much like a present) is future (being properly subjunctive, and aorist at that).

In Russian, as in Arabic, aspect looms larger than time. The emphasis is not on the timepiece which regulates the westerner's life. The effectiveness of our civilization depends on the time element—by which trains, and also delayed-action bombs, are governed. Perhaps the change from aspect to tense came with the transition from nomadism to a settled habitation. The nomad hardly knows where his ancestor's grave was dug and reflects little on the past—his ancient history is legend and myth. As for the future, migrants do not promulgate five-year plans. This, to be sure, is conjecture, and not very important. What is important is to observe that such peculiarities as the so-called pret-erite presents οἶδα "I know," in Sanskrit veda, cf. Latin vidi "I have seen," i.e. "I now know"), not to mention suppletion e.g.

φέρω	: οἶσω	: ἤνεγκα
fero	: tetuli	

are the most natural thing in the world, once it is realized that aspect meanings and the inherent semantic content of verbal roots underline their usage. In *nosco* the meaning is "I get to know by successive steps" (not "I begin to know," for he who only begins will never know much), *cresco* "grow progressively," *misceo* "keep on mixing" (that takes time even with an electrical mixer); but *noui* is "I now know," just as κέκτημαι (perfect) means "I have got" (present).

Nowhere is suppletion so necessary as with the concept "go." We have not only

έρχομαι	: εἶμι, ἐλεύσομαι	: ἤλθεν
---------	-------------------	---------

but also in French

je vais	: j'irai	: je suis allé
---------	----------	----------------

and in English

I go	: I went
Old English ga	: ēode
Gothic ganga	: iddja ("I went").

A simple prefix like the Greek augment (ἐ- "then, at that time"), with the appropriate conjoint ending, turns a continuous present

into an imperfect (i.e. continuous past)—φέρουσι: ἔφερον (φέρομεν: ἐφέρομεν). But other prefixes are highly significant too: Gothic *gaba-tran* "bring forth" is perfective, like *con-ficere, efficere* (the much vaunted "efficiency" system, which, alas, seems not to be free from the law of diminishing returns), *κατεργάζεσθαι* is "to make an end of, overpower," and at Xenophon *Hell.* 1, 6, 16 (often misquoted as 4.5.5, a sheepish error that goes back to Sturz's Index of 1801)—

Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναῦσιν εὐ πλεούσας καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου—

the force of the prefix is as strong as in German *er-jagen* beside *jagen*. If beside *τέθηκε* a continuous form with -σκ-, and also an i element, is set up, there is some compensation made by prefixing ἀπο-, hence ἀποθνήσκει, which reminds us of Goethe's "ich sterbe, sterbe, and kann nicht ersterben."

Contrast in Aspects

HERE ARE SOME further examples of contrasts in aspects: *διδόναι* and *δοῦναι*, *in-cipio* and *coe-pi*, *scio* and *nōuī*, *soleo* and *con-suevi*, *στροφᾶν* and *uersare* (iterative) but *στρέφειν* and *uertere*; *ἐβαλλον* (conative) but *ἐβαλον*, *γινώσκω*, *nosco* (for **gignosco*), but *ἐγνων* (as in the paroemiac *παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*) and *nōuī*; *dabam* "offered" but *dedi*; *suadeo* but (*per*-)*suasi*; *re-miniscor*: *memini*: *moneo* (causative); *de-testor*: *odi*; *μαίνεται* but *ἐμάνη*, and (in English) *bring* (terminative) but *fetch* (causative) and *take* (punctual). In this last example the contrast is expressed in the same way as *fero*: *tetuli*, like *φέρω*: *ἤνεγκα*. But when (*te*)*tuli* receives a prefix as in *sustuli*, then the present (from the same root) requires the *n*-formant, so that the form *tollo* (from **tolno*) is in no way abnormal. If the root of *fero* has a preterite in Gothic (*bērum*) or an aorist in Sanskrit (*abhārṣīt*) such forms are analogical. How strongly the inherent meaning of the root may determine the "tense" is clear from such pairs as *ἔθην* (imp.): *ἔβην* (aorist), *ἐγλύφετο* (impf.): *ἐφύθετο* (aor.), *ἐγραφον* (impf.): *ἐδρακον* (aor.) in which the formation is identical in each pair.

Some of the more familiar aspects that have been put to temporal uses are:

1. Continuous in *λείπω*, Gothic *leiþan*, Lith. *lėkmi*
2. Momentary in *λείπειν*, *laithum* or *ισμεν*, *vidmā*, *witum*
3. Perfective in *λέλοιπα*, *re-liqui*, *lāih*
4. Terminative in *re-linguo*, *λαμβάνω*, *τινάζει*, like *λαμβάνω* (contrast *ελαβον*), *τυγχάνω* (contrast *ἐνυχον*)
5. Causative in *ῥέδνυσι*, *drench* (i.e. "make to drink"), *set* (i.e. "make to sit").
6. Desiderative in *λείψω*, *uiso*, *αὔξω* (the future of which is *αὔξησω*), *ῥάδνυσι* (contrast *tremo*, *terpidus*) *gaweison* "visit," *fra-liusan* "loose" (with *fra-* like German *ver-*).
7. Iterative in *dicto*, *plecto*, *κλέπτω*. But in Germanic weak preterites the meaning has shifted to a past tense—what is done repeatedly has already become past.
8. Progressive in *gáčhati*, *βάσχω*, *misceo* (English *mix*), *wascan* ("wash"—a progressive affair).

Clearly a number of these types have coalesced into a present "tense," of which Greek for example has eight different types. The very fact that a single tense may show so many varieties of formation, no less than that a common original type may be put to quite different uses (*αὔξω* and *uiso* present, *δείξω* future, *faxo* fut. perfect), as well as the phenomena of syncretism (for example the Latin perfect and the Germanic preterite) and suppletion, or the survival of the timeless "aorist" in Greek *μειδιάσας ἔφη* "he said with a smile" (exactly like the aorist participle with *τυγχάνω*, *λαμβάνω*, *φθάνω*), or the contrast between continuous and momentary action in the Greek imperative, the use of a "present" form with past meaning when accompanied by a suitable adverb, as in Homer's *παρά γ' ἐμὲν οὔτι θαμίζεις* (so in Vedic Sanskrit with *para*, or Old English with *ære*)—all these features clearly reveal the old aspect meanings.

Even such contrasts as the reduplicated *bibo*, *ἵσσησι*, or terminative *πίνω*, over against *ἔστη*,

πῶθι, whereas *ἔστί*, *ἔφην* (and *φημί*), *ἦν* need no reduplication rest upon the distinction between momentary and imperfective meanings. That is the reason why *ἔβην* (aorist) can form a present only with the help of added elements as in *βαίνω* or *βάσχω*, in which the *i* or *sk* fulfil a function similar to that of reduplication in *bibo* or *ἵσσημι*. If the root is inherently momentary in force, it is left without a simple "present" (or continuous aspect) unless compensation is provided by reduplication, *-n-*, *-sk-* or the like. But *ἔστί*, *φημί* are imperfective already.

The English *improve* in the sense of "make better" is causative in aspect. When in 1720, Isaac Watts wrote

*How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour*

it was durative and meant "turn to advantage." The word was formerly written *εμπρω* (Anglo-Norman *emprouwer*) and has nothing to do with *prove*, *approve* (Latin *aprobare*), except a mistaken association of form that led to the change of spelling and pronunciation. The Old French *prou*, *prod* is from a vulgar Latin **prodis* (formed on the pattern of *prodest*, like *potis* beside *potest*), which appears as *prode* in the Peregrinatio Egeriae (*prode illi est*, a kind of tmesis like *est inter* in Lucifer of Cagliari). This gave rise even to *prude* "gallant," then "discreet, modest" now applied to females, also a retroformate from *prōdest*, which owes its *d* to an old ablative *prōd* that appears in *prōdeo*, *prodigo* (compounds of *eo*, ago like *redeo*, *redigo*). The "shining hour" is the "bright, sunny season"; and *shine* (Old English *scīnan*) is a terminative aspect of the root that appears in *σκία* and *σκηνή*. For there is no shadow without a bright light, which is perhaps the reason why Inge was called the gloomy dean.

•

If I were now an undergraduate studying Classics I should still, I think, best improve the shining hour by paying all possible attention to studying the languages as the surest gateway to an understanding of the literatures.



Athens Album

In the quickening tempo of recovery in Greece, events of outstanding importance to classicists are the approaching completion of the American School excavations in the ancient Agora of Athens, the reconstruction of the vast Stoa of Attalos to serve as the Agora Museum, and the reopening of provisional exhibits from the superb collections of the National Archaeological Museum.

On the following pages are a number of photographs of Athenian scenes, excerpts from an epic without beginning or end.

ABOVE

ATHENS' HISTORY IN THE EARLY IRON AGE, GREECE'S DARK AGES AFTER THE FALL OF THE MYCENAEAN KINGDOMS, HAS BEEN NO BETTER KNOWN THAN THAT OF OTHER GREEK TOWNS, BUT NOW, THANKS TO NEW MATERIAL ISSUING FROM THE AGORA EXCAVATIONS, IS BEGINNING TO TAKE FORM AS A COHERENT NARRATIVE. FROM THE STYLIZED GEOMETRIC PATTERNS TYPICAL OF THE POTTERY DECORATION OF THIS PERIOD, THE PERIOD IS KNOWN AS THE GEOMETRIC. THE BEST SPECIMENS, AND CERTAINLY

THE BEST-PRESERVED, ARE NORMALLY FOUND IN GRAVES. THIS GROUP OF EIGHT SMALL GEOMETRIC VASES WAS FOUND WITH THE SKELETON OF A BABY, IN A PITHOS OR STORAGE-JAR BURIAL AT THE NORTHWEST FOOT OF THE AREOPAGUS.

EACH SUCH FIND BRINGS ITS OWN NUGGETS OF GOLDEN INFORMATION. IN THIS INSTANCE, ONE OF SEVERAL SUCH NUGGETS IS THAT THESE EIGHT VASES WERE BURIED SIMULTANEOUSLY, AND THEREFORE, IN SPITE OF THEIR DIFFERENCES IN SIZE, SHAPE, AND DECORATIVE STYLE, ARE APPROXIMATELY CONTEMPORARY.



IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE AGORA excavation MUCH TIME WAS CONSUMED IN NEGOTIATING FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE LAND AND BUILDINGS FROM THEIR MODERN OWNERS, AND IN TEARING DOWN THOSE CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH HAD NO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE. THE EXCAVATED EARTH WAS CARRIED AWAY IN LIGHT TWO-WHEELED CARTS. IN THIS PICTURE, TAKEN IN 1932, THE EXCAVATORS HAD JUST REACHED THE ANCIENT FOUNDATION LEVEL OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGORA, WITH THE TEMPLE OF HEPHAISTOS, BEST PRESERVED OF CLASSICAL GREEK TEMPLES, LOOKING DOWN FROM ITS TERRACE GARDEN ABOVE. AT THE LEFT, INDICATED BY THE ARROW, IS THE MOUTH OF THE WELL IN WHICH WAS FOUND THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. BRONZE HEAD OF NIKE REPRODUCED IN TRIPPLICATE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.



IN THE TIME OF PERICLES, THUCYDIDES TELLS US, THE ATHENIANS, PREOCCUPIED TO FIND A SUITABLE MEANS OF AT ONCE STORING SAFELY AND ENJOYING THEIR GOLD RESERVES, HIT UPON THE IDEA OF APPLYING IT IN THICK SHEETS OVER THEIR PHEIDIAN STATUES OF ATHENA PARTHENOS, AND OVER CERTAIN STATUES OF NIKE. THE GROOVES VISIBLE RUNNING DOWN THE SIDE OF THE NECK AND ALONG THE EDGE OF THE HAIR OF THIS NIKE WERE WHERE THE GOLD SHEATHING WAS PACKED IN PLACE—NOT ONCE BUT TWICE, FOR THERE ARE TWO SETS

OF GROOVES, CONFIRMING THE TRADITION THAT TOWARD THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR THE EXHAUSTED TREASURY BORROWED THIS GOLD AND STRIPPED IT OFF TO MELT INTO COINS, AND THEN IN THE REVIVING PROSPERITY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY PUT IT BACK, ONLY TO NEED IT AGAIN IN THE THIRD. CAREFUL CLEANING IN THE GROOVES REVEALED TINY PARTICLES OF BOTH SHEET GOLD AND SILVER. THIS IS SURELY ONE OF THE NIKES WHICH THUCYDIDES WAS REFERRING TO.

CORRODED BRONZES FROM THE AMERICAN SCHOOL EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA ARE CLEANED UNDER LABORATORY CONDITIONS TO PREVENT FURTHER DAMAGE TO THE SUBSTANCE AND TO RETAIN AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OF THE DESIRABLE GREEN PATINA. THE SOLVENT USED WITH GREATEST SATISFACTION BY THE AGORA STAFF IS SODIUM METAPHOSPHATE; THE VIGOR WITH WHICH IT REACTS WITH THE CORROSIVE DEPOSITS CAN BE CONTROLLED BY THE STRENGTH OF THE SOLUTION

USED AND ITS TEMPERATURE, AND THE PROCESS CAN BE HALTED AT A MOMENT OF HAPPY COMPROMISE BETWEEN NOT ENOUGH CLEANING AND TOO MUCH.

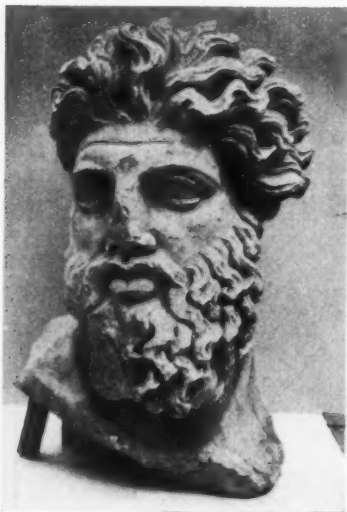
THE FIGURE SHOWN IN BEFORE AND AFTER POSSES BELOW IS AN ARCHAIC BRONZE FIGURINE OF A HORSE AND RIDER, FROM THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS. NOTE THE INSCRIPTION ON THE HORSE'S FLANK, REVEALED BY THE REMOVAL OF THE CRUST.





A SAMPLING OF MISCELLANEOUS FINDS FROM THE AGORA excavations would include three such as those shown on this page. Here, for instance, is a restoration, from fragments still wearing traces of color, of the perspective and profile of an elaborately painted anta capital from a fifth-century building whose foundations have not appeared in the excavations and must lie to the north of the Agora—where traditionally stood the Stoa Poikile or Painted Colonnade, a most appropriate attribution for these eye-catching architectural fragments.

West of the Agora was a district containing the workshop-dwellings of artisans in terracotta and bronze. Among the standard equipment of such shops were clay impressions taken from fine metalwork, a sort of card file of useful designs. From one such impression was made in turn this modern cast; the subject is seen to be a warrior, nude, reclining, and relaxed.

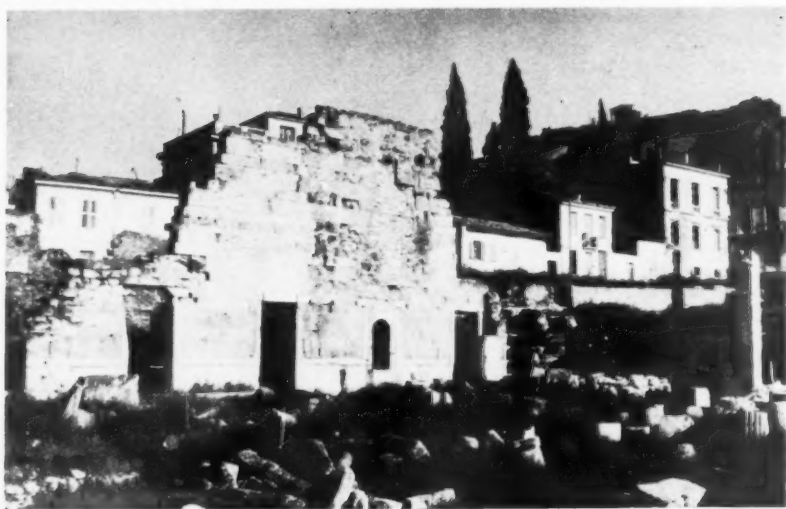


IN THE CENTER OF THE AGORA WAS BUILT AN ODEION, A ROOFED AUDITORIUM FOR MUSICAL PERFORMANCES. IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D. ITS FAÇADE WAS DUBIOUSLY ENHANCED BY A PORCH WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY COLOSSAL FIGURES ("STOA OF THE GIANTS" IN THE HANDBOOKS) SUCH AS THIS TRITON, FOUND IN THE AGORA IN 1949. THIS CONTAINED A SURPRISE; AS HAS HAPPENED BEFORE, THE HEAD JOINED A NECK FRAGMENT FOUND EARLIER, BUT IN THIS CASE THE NECK WAS FOUND HALF A CENTURY AGO, AND NOT IN THE AGORA OR ANYWHERE NEAR IT, BUT IN ATHENS' DISTANT SUBURB OF ELEUSIS!



ONE OF THE GREATEST BUILDINGS OF ATHENS WAS NOT A PERICLEAN MASTERPIECE AT ALL, BUT THE GREAT COLONNADE WHICH CLOSED THE AGORA OR MARKETPLACE ON THE EAST, THE STOA OF ATTALOS, SECOND CENTURY B.C., GIFT OF THE KING OF PERGAMON TO THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS. BADLY BATTERED AT THE HANDS OF TIME AND STANDING TO NEARLY ITS ORIGINAL HEIGHT IN ONLY TWO PLACES, THE

STOA OF ATTALOS IS TO RISE AGAIN; WITH E.C.A. FUNDS AND THE COOPERATION OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS, THE STOA IS BEING REBUILT TO SERVE AS THE AGORA MUSEUM. THIS PICTURE, TAKEN FROM THE FOOT OF THE ACROPOLIS SLOPE, LOOKS FROM SOUTH TO NORTH ALONG THE HEAVY FOUNDATIONS, AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF MODERN BUILDINGS. ON PAGE 369 YOU WILL SEE HOW IT USED TO LOOK.



ABOVE

THIS IS THE WAY THE SOUTH END OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS LOOKED FROM THE AGORA SIDE, BEFORE THE PRESENT WORK OF CLEARING AND RECONSTRUCTION BEGAN. WHEN THE ENGLISH TRAVELER EDWARD DODWELL WAS IN ATH-

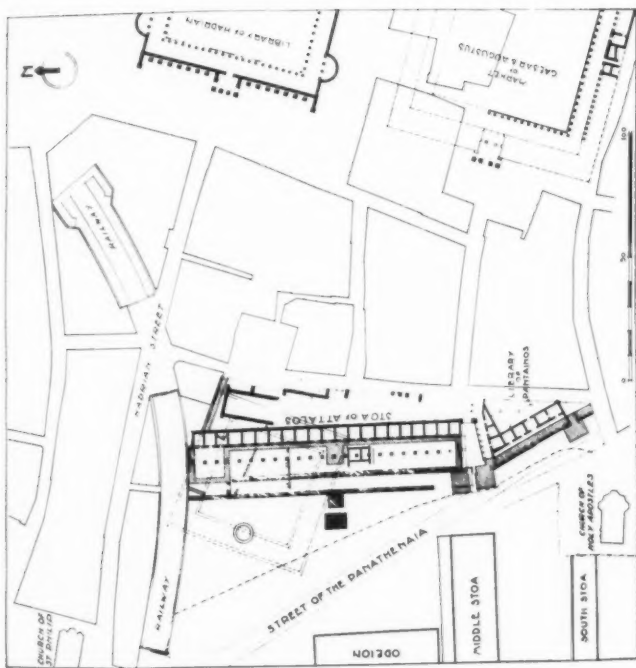
ENS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, HE DREW A NUMBER OF PICTURES OF MONUMENTS AS HE SAW THEM, INCLUDING THE VIEW OF THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS SEEN BELOW.





EARLY IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. TWO YOUNG ANATOLIAN PRINCES, ATTALOS AND ARIARATHES, WERE SENT TO THE UNIVERSITY TOWN OF ATHENS TO COMPLETE THEIR STUDIES. ONE OF THE LEADING PHILOSOPHERS OF THE DAY WAS KARNEADES OF AZENIA, FOUNDER AND HEAD OF THE NEW ACADEMY, AND ATTALOS AND ARIARATHES BECAME HIS PUPILS. WHEN ARIARATHES HAD BECOME KING OF CAPPADOCIA (162 B.C.) AND ATTALOS HAD SUCCEEDED TO THE THRONE OF PERGAMON (159 B.C.), THE TWO MONARCHS JOINED IN HAVING A BRONZE SEATED PORTRAIT STATUE MADE OF

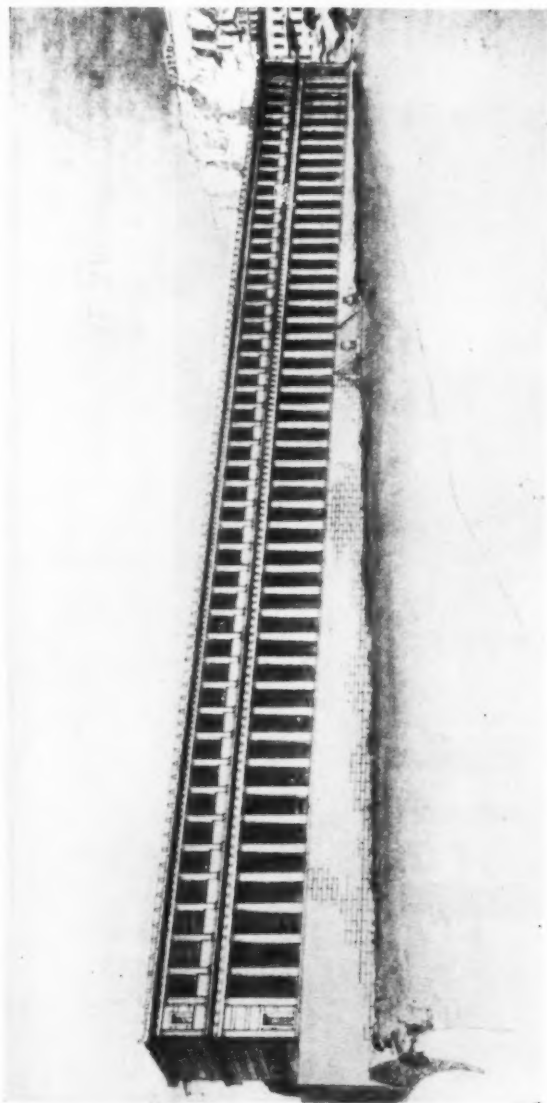
THEIR OLD TEACHER, AND SET IT UP IN THE GREAT STOA WHICH ATTALOS PRESENTED TO ATHENS. THE STATUE HAS NOT BEEN FOUND, AND PROBABLY WENT INTO THE MELTING-POT LONG, LONG AGO, BUT LAST YEAR ITS MARBLE BASE CAME TO LIGHT IN THE RUINS OF THE STOA, WITH THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION: *Karneades of Azenia, Attalos and Ariarthes Sypalettos dedicated (it)*. NOTICE THAT THE KINGS DO NOT FLAUNT THEIR MAJESTIES, BUT IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS PLAIN CITIZENS OF ATHENS, MEMBERS OF THE DEME SYPALETTOS IN WHICH THEY HAD BEEN ENROLLED.



THIS GROUND PLAN SHOWS THE STOA OF ATTALOS WITH ITS DOUBLE ROW OF COLUMNS AND REAR SHOPS, THE LIBRARY OF PANTANOS WHICH FLANKED IT ON THE SOUTH, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE VALERIAN WALL, SEVERAL AGORA BUILDINGS, AND THE PANATHENAIIC PROCESSIONAL ROAD WHICH CROSSED THE AGORA DIAGONALLY. TO THE EAST ARE PARTS OF TWO LARGE STRUCTURES OF ROMAN DATE, THE MARKET OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS AND THE LIBRARY OF HADRIAN.



AMONG THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS, FAR BELOW THE ORIGINAL FLOOR LEVEL, THE EXCAVATORS FOUND ENOUGH ELEMENTS OF FOURTH CENTURY B.C. PALAESTRA TRACED AT THE LEFT TO RESTORE ITS PLAN, AND BELOW THAT A BUILDING OLDER STILL, REPRESENTED IN THIS PICTURE BY THE COURTYARD FLOOR.

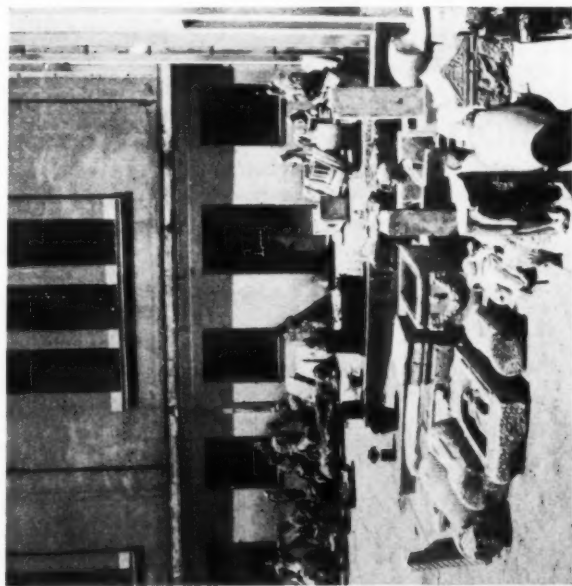


THIS IS A RESTORED PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS AS IT LOOKED WHEN FIRST BUILT, AS DRAWN IN 1948 BY GORHAM P. STEVENS, HONORARY ARCHITECT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS. MORE RECENT RESEARCH HAS INDICATED TWO MINOR CHANGES: FROM THE DODWELL DRAWING, THE ENDS OF THE STOA MUST BE FINISHED WITH GABLES INSTEAD OF SLOPING ROOFS, AND INSTEAD OF THE STAIRWAY IN THE MIDDLE THERE WAS A FOUR-HORSE CHARIOT GROUP IN BRONZE.



NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

SCULPTURES, SARCOPHAGI, GRAVE MONUMENTS, AND OTHER OBJECTS AWAITING THEIR TURN TO BE REPLACED ON EXHIBITION, ARE STORED IN CLOSED GALLERIES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AND IN THE GREAT OPEN CENTRAL COURTYARD. REPAIRS TO THE BUILDING, NOW WELL ADVANCED, WERE MADE POSSIBLE BY MARSHALL PLAN ASSISTANCE.



THE GREATEST COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL GREEK SCULPTURES IS THAT OF THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT ATHENS. DURING THE WAR ITS PRINCIPAL TREASURES WERE TAKEN DOWN AND STORED IN PLACES OF SAFETY, WHILE THE NEGLECTED BUILDING SUFFERED SERIOUS WEATHER DAMAGE. SINCE THE WAR THE DIRECTOR, CHRISTOS KAROUZOS, HAS PROJECTED A SERIES OF TEN GALLERIES TO SERVE AS A PROVISIONAL EXHIBIT UNTIL THE ENTIRE MUSEUM CAN BE REPAIRED, REDECORATED, AND REOPENED TO THE PUBLIC. THREE OF THESE GALLERIES, DEVOTED TO ARCHAIC ART, WERE OPENED IN 1948; THE PICTURE FACING SHOWS THE FOURTH, OPENED ON AUGUST 11, 1949. IT CONTAINS MARBLES AND BRONZES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C., DOMINATED BY THE GREAT BRONZE ZEUS OR POSEIDON FOUND, IN 1928, ON THE OCEAN FLOOR OFF ARTEMISION.

A PEEK BEHIND THE SCENES AT THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS: THIS IS ONE OF THE ROOMS DEDICATED TO THE CLEANING, REPAIR, AND RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES. IN THE LEFT FOREGROUND IS THE MARATHON BOY, AND IN THE CENTER, WITH RESTORATION UNDER WAY BUT NOT COMPLETE, IS THE BRONZE



YOUTH FROM ANTICYTHERA, BOTH RECOVERED FROM THE SEA BOTTOM. THE PLUNGING HORSE AND TINY JOCKEY AT THE RIGHT ARE A LIFE-SIZED MODEL OF PLASTER, MADE TO ASSIST IN RESTORING THE ORIGINAL BRONZE GROUP FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND AT ARTEMISION.

ILLUSTRATIONS REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS AND THE MAGAZINE *Archaeology*.

The readers' opinion of the Classics
Was uniformly high . . .

The Classics and Adult Education

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.

I. INTRODUCTION

ADULT EDUCATION is nothing new to the classicist. Solon adumbrated the adult education movement when he wrote "I grow old ever learning many things." Plato, however, is perhaps the father of adult education, for his whole educational system is based on the concept that education is a continuous process. Livingstone summarizes well Plato's significance in the field of adult education: "At the other end of life Plato is the parent of adult education. He did not hold the strange view, which we are beginning to abandon, that education could be completed at school or at university: his ruling class only reach the climax of their education at 50, and even then continue to divide their lives between action and thought, the world and study. In all this Plato shows a penetrating insight into the practice as well as the theory of education."¹ Politics, religion, art, and drama, as Livingstone has pointed out, "were shared by every Athenian and woven into the entire national life"—² a type of adult education. Livingstone then observes, "Comparing the political education of England and America with that of Athens, we may say then that in some respects ours is superior, in others worse. They gave the whole citizen

body a training in the art of politics, we train a small minority thoroughly. We might have done worse; we could do infinitely better, if we chose to take adult education seriously."³

Apropos of the trends which are lending added significance to the adult education movement, the Harvard Report writes: "Medicine has altered the normal expectation of life. As the proportion of older to younger persons changes, continuing adult education becomes more and more necessary to keep a society from spiritual senescence . . . the machine age is but beginning. Leisure, the name the future will have to give to unemployment, is opening out before mankind as widely as the Pacific Ocean spread before Cortez."⁴ Preparation for leisure—especially the leisure accompanying old age—is also nothing new to the classicist, for Cicero's *de Senectute* is, in many ways, the *locus classicus* for the adult's "worthy use of leisure time." *Higher Education for American Democracy* concludes its section on adult education as follows: "Higher education will not play its social role in American democracy and in international affairs successfully unless it assumes the responsibility for a program of adult education reaching far beyond the campus and the classroom."⁵ Plato's awareness of the educational power of indirect influences led to his conviction that education cannot be confined to the campus and the classroom. "Whenever the populace crowds together at any public gathering, in the Assembly, the law-courts, the theater, or the camp, and sits there clamouring its approval or disapproval, both alike excessive, of whatever is being said or done; booing and clapping till the rocks ring and the whole place redoubles the noise of their applause

(Professor Snowden's interest in broadening the useful range of the Classics has been well attested by earlier articles in this journal. Head of the Department of Classics at Howard University in Washington, D. C., Professor Snowden is at present in Italy pursuing his specialized interest in the sociology of race relations in antiquity.

Hand in hand with increasing general interest in the Classics necessarily goes an increase in the availability of translations and in the number of new translations. Present indications are that this is in fact the case.

and outcries What sort of private instruction will have given him the strength to hold out against the force of such a torrent. . . . ?"⁶

Books play no little part in the many adult education programs in our country. Such a *pabulum* is no surprise to the classicists, for Cicero's dictum on the value of books is well known even to the high school youngster who reads the *Pro Archia*. In light of the growing recognition of the adult education movement, it is the purpose of this paper to give a report on the part which the classics play in American adult education. Replies to questionnaires sent to sponsors of great books programs have provided the bulk of the material for this paper.⁷

II. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

A. TYPES OF COURSES

MOST OF THE READING programs followed very closely the Chicago Great Books Program, both as to method and to books selected for reading and discussion. The courses were designed to make them "informal in atmosphere, to elicit a maximum of participation from the members of the class, and to permit the freedom and flexibility needed to adapt the work of each class to the interests of its members In each seminar there are two instructors who work together as discussion leaders. Their procedure is to ask questions about the book read and to ask further questions about the answers which the students give. It is by the asking of questions, not by the giving of answers, that the instructors play their part in originating and controlling the discussion which occupies the two hours of each meeting. And frequently the most important questions which are raised do not get answered. They will be raised again and again in the course of a year's reading. Questions, not answers, keep the mind alive; they are the main business of our seminar periods. . . . Since the seminar is devoted entirely to the discussion of the book read, and since lecturing is out of place during the seminar period, we are providing a series of lectures for the students in all these courses."⁷

B. NUMBER OF YEARS OFFERED AND ENROLLMENT

CITY	NUMBER OF YEARS OFFERED	AVERAGE ENROLLMENT
A	3	1,200
B	9	605
C	1	30
D	10	5
E	1	200
F	1	150
G	Less than one year	25-30
H	3	200
I	1	2,000 enrolled, 1,200 in attendance
J	2	700
K	3	400
L	During war years	25
M	Less than one year	17-31

Of the programs studied, the most recently introduced has been offered for less than a year while the first to be developed was introduced nine years ago. The enrollment varies from five to two thousand.

C. TYPES OF PERSONS ENROLLED

CITY	TYPE
A	Very largely college experienced or college graduates; predominantly women; 40-60 age bracket.
B	Twenty-six had no college work at all; seventy-five had had some college work; twenty-four were college graduates; twenty-four had had some graduate work; thirty-six had advanced or professional degrees (LL.B., M.A., M.D.); housewives outnumbered persons employed in the professions; clerical workers, proprietors, managers, etc.
C	Housewives, lawyers, librarians, graduate students, clergymen.
D	Housewives, office workers.
E	Professional, clerical, salesmen, one airline pilot.
F	All types, many local teachers in high schools, more than half the class composed of college graduates, mostly women (26 women, 8 men).
G	Adults and college students.
H	Cross section of people generally—more from the professional and white collar

groups than from labor.

- I All "types" within limits of those who wish to read and discuss; occupational levels from freight handlers to lawyers and educators; many in management and personnel; great many housewives; educational level, one-half with high school graduates, and one-half with college graduation and more; intelligence level above average, judged by discussion.
- J Wide range, highest concentration of age group, 35-50; educational level, two years college; income better than average.
- K Business men and women, housewives, office workers, writers, journalists, teachers, and librarians.
- L Every type, race, religion, and income group.

The diversity of types interested in the great books, the classics included, should be especially noted by classicists. It has always been my conviction that the classics, if presented properly, would appeal to a wide audience. One of the most detailed replies to the question concerning the type of reader stated that, although the program was originally designed for adults without regard to educational background, it was soon discovered that the main appeal of the program was for people of sufficient background to know that Plato and Aristotle were worth reading at some time. Among Negro groups this sponsor failed because he felt that as a whole Negroes have been underprivileged with respect to education. The same failure, however, was noted in underprivileged white communities. What is needed, according to this sponsor, is a means of persuading people who have never heard about the books that there are books which should and can be discussed.

D. CLASSICS FROM GREECE AND ROME GENERALLY READ

Since most of the reading groups follow the Chicago Reading List, I list below the books from classical antiquity read and discussed in the Chicago program as found in the brochure *The Great Books in the Modern World*.

1. FIRST COURSE

Plato, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Republic*, I, II; Thucydides, I, chaps. 1, 2, 3, 5; II, chaps. 6, 7; V, chap. 17; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, *Birds*, *Clouds*; Aristotle, *Ethics*, I, *Politics*, I; Plutarch, "Lycurgus," "Numa" and "Comparison"; "Alexander" and "Caesar"; St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I-VIII.

2. SECOND COURSE

Homer, *Odyssey*; Herodotus, I-II; Aeschylus, *Oresteia*; Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*, *Antigone*; Aristotle, *Poetics*; Plato, *Meno*; Aristotle, *Ethics*, Books II, III (chaps 7-12) and VI (chaps 9-13); Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura*, I-IV; Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*.

3. THIRD COURSE

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*; Plato, *The Statesman*; Aristotle, *Politics*, III, IV, V; Euclid, *Elements*, I; Aristotle, *Categories*; chaps. 1-4; *On Interpretation*, chaps. 1-8; Nichomachus, *Introduction to Arithmetic*; Lucian, *True History*, *Dialogues of the Dead*, *Dialogues of the Hetaerae*; *Dialogues of the Gods*, *Alexander the Oracle Monger*, *The Sale of Creeds*, *The Fisher*; St. Augustine, *Of the Teacher*.

4. FOURTH COURSE

Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*; *Airs, Waters, and Places*; *Prognostics*, *Epidemics*; *The Law*; *The Sacred Disease*; Plato, *Republic*, VI-VII; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* I, 1, 2; IV, VI, 1; XI, 1-4; Euclid, *Elements of Geometry*, V; St. Augustine, *Confessions*, IX-XIII.

5. FIFTH COURSE

Euripides, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Bacchae*, *Trojan Women*; Plato, *Parmenides*, *Theatetus*; Aristotle, *Physics*, I, 1-3, 7-9; II, 1-3, 7-9; III, 1-3; Aristotle, *de Anima*, II, 1-3; III; Vergil, *Aeneid*.

6. SIXTH COURSE

Plato, *The Sophist*; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, XII; Plotinus, *Fifth Ennead*, *Of the Divine Mind*; St. Augustine, *The City of God* (selections).

All of the programs studied did not include in their reading all of the books listed above. Although variations in selections and adaptations to the needs and interests of the groups were made, certain books were read and discussed by all the groups. In most cases, approximately half of the books in each reading

program were drawn from the field of classical antiquity, a larger number being selected from Greek than from Roman writers. In one group in which the lecture rather than the discussion was emphasized, reading of the books was optional.

E. WORKS FROM CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY OF GREATEST APPEAL TO READERS

GROUP	PREFERENCE
A	Sponsor in great doubt on this point; each appeals for different reasons and to different people; Plato and Aristotle, of course, are fundamental.
B	Aristophanes, Plato, Thucydides, Aristotle—in that order.
C	Plato's <i>Republic</i> , Aristophanes, and Thucydides.
D	Plato, Homer, Aristotle, Thucydides.
E	Plato over Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Aristotle.
F	Perhaps Plato, especially <i>Apology</i> and <i>Crito</i> the most popular reading in the first year list.
G	No generalizations can be made; there has been no book that has not had its enthusiastic admirers, as well as its detractors; Plato's <i>Apology</i> and <i>Crito</i> have received almost universal approval as vital, understandable, and beautiful works; in group discussions reference is never made to any book as a work from the "classical period" but as a book for our time.
H	Probably plays of Euripides and Plato's <i>Apology</i> , <i>Crito</i> , and <i>Republic</i> ; often Thucydides.
I	Homer, Greek drama, Plato and Vergil.
J	Plato; Aristophanes drawing the largest attendance.

F. WORKS FROM CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY OF LEAST APPEAL TO READERS

GROUP	REACTION
A	Euclid, although the sponsor adds that he certainly does not agree personally.
B	Aristotle, <i>Ethics</i> .
C	Aristotle, <i>Ethics</i> ; Plato, <i>Apology</i> and <i>Crito</i> .
D	Plato and Aristotle.
E	None of the readings stand out as unpopular.
F	Aristotle; Aristophanes, <i>Clouds</i> .

- G Scientific, legal, and religious works.
 H Thucydides least popular of the Greeks; St. Augustine, *Confessions*, least popular of any reading of classical period.
 I Books that do not appeal to groups as a whole are not failing because of their "antiquity" obviously, since other equally ancient have stirring appeal; a very few people feel that some books no longer apply in certain respects and fail to see a universal quality; most books lose appeal because of difficulty in reading rather than because of antiquity.

The readers' preferences and dislikes as recorded above may be of value not only to program sponsors but also to classicists in planning extension programs and the like. Classicists might do well to consider a more detailed study of this type and to use the information gained from such an investigation in planning courses in the humanities and general education. Although Plato appeared on both lists, Plato was obviously the most popular, with Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Aristotle sharing second honors. Worthy of note is the infrequent appearance of Greek tragedy in the list of works of greatest appeal to the readers.

G. READERS' OPINIONS

In order to determine the readers' opinions of the classical books, the following questions were included on the questionnaire: (1) Are the classical works regarded as "difficult" reading? (2) Are the classical works regarded as "foreign" to modern civilization? (3) Do the readers regard the background gained as a contribution to an understanding of modern problems? (5) Do the readers regret that their formal education did not include or require readings in the classics? (6) Other reactions?

The groups as a whole did not consider the classical works read as difficult, although some groups regarded certain works as difficult, e.g., Aristotle's *Logic*, Thucydides (the proper names), Aristotle, Plato's *Meno*. One sponsor reported that his group at first found the classical works difficult but that, after reading and discussion, discovered that the issues discussed were in reality "modern."

The answer to the second question was "no" with the exception of one reply which stated that the classical works were regarded at first as foreign to modern civilization but not after the discussion had developed parallels with modern life.

All of the groups considered the background gained from the readings of classical authors as a valuable contribution to an understanding of modern problems.

The classicist will be very interested in the expressions of regret on the part of readers whose formal training included no classics. Eight groups regretted that their formal education had not included or required readings in the classics. One sponsor reported "yes" but added that students in college are probably too young to derive from the books what the same individuals gain later in a reading group. His readers, the sponsor continued, appreciated being able to read and to discuss the books under leaders who merely asked questions and did not tell them what to think about the books or authors. A similar answer replied "yes" with the additional information that the readers, after their experience in the study groups, believed themselves better able to understand the books than when they were in college. Another affirmative answer replied that most readers felt that the "reading and discussion method" is even better than a formal lecture as an introduction to the books. One group expressed the regret that it had not had "the opportunity and/or the desire" to study the classical languages in high school or college. Finally, one sponsor replied "not especially" on this point and another reported seven "yes's" and eight "no's."

The readers' opinion of the classics as a whole was uniformly high. One sponsor in a northern city reported that a group made nine round trips averaging eighty miles in "arctic conditions" to participate and that the "morale was high." Another sponsor commented on "the flavor" of many groups deriving from the familiarity which the people felt for the first time in their lives with an ancient civilization which they had been taught to admire without having been taught

why they should admire it. In Wisconsin, courses in classics in translation have been broadcast, with most enthusiastic response from adult listeners. From the same state comes the information that there is an enormous pent-up demand throughout the state for this sort of program and that some adult courses in the classics in translations, independent of the Chicago Foundation Series, will probably be instituted soon. Another significant comment pointed out that the discussions help to take the participants' minds out of the rut of daily concerns by turning attention to problems of first concern in life.

III. OBSERVATIONS

One of my informants, after describing the informal nature of his discussions which were concerned with the important philosophical and ethical questions suggested by the books rather than with literary or historical matters, stated that I or any other teacher of the Greek and Latin classics might be shocked by the apparent superficiality of this treatment. Some of my classical colleagues may be shocked; I am not. In the first place, I have too much faith in the importance of the adult education movement. In the second place, I have always been convinced that the teacher of the classics has a responsibility to a much larger group of individuals than those students who elect the ancient languages as a field of concentration. Many classicists, some with reluctance, have finally consented to participate in humanities programs, general education courses, and in courses dealing with the Greek and Latin element in the English language. Many classicists missed a great opportunity by failing to participate earlier in such important areas of our educational program. We should not be culpable of the same hamartia a second time. Adult education, whether we approve of it or not, will not soon disappear from American life. Since my study has provided evidence of the enthusiastic reception of classical authors as read and discussed in the Great Books Programs, we should cooperate with this movement by contributing our intimate knowledge of Greek and Roman authors whenever we

have an opportunity. We should also point out to our educators the significance of the appeal of these authors, especially the Greek authors, and we should argue for the re-introduction of the Greek language into our high schools. If more Greek is taught in our schools, more of our students may have enough Greek to add to the enjoyment of the Greek authors when read in later life. If we fail now to meet the challenge offered by the current interest in Greek and Roman authors stimulated by the Great Books Program, we shall miss an excellent opportunity to increase the sphere of our influence. The present is the propitious moment for the classicist to act. The classicist should capitalize on the revival of popular interest in the classics as revealed not only by the Great Books Program but also by the enthusiastic reception of the "Invitation to Learning" program.

NOTES

¹ R. Livingstone, *Plato and Modern Education*, Cambridge at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, p. 7.

² *Idem*, *Some Tasks for Education*, Oxford University Press, London, Toronto, New York, 1946, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴ *General Education in a Free Society*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945, pp. 258-259.

⁵ *Higher Education for American Democracy: The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education*, Harper and Brothers, New York, n.d., vol. 1, p. 100.

⁶ *Republic*, VI, 492 b-d, in F. M. Cornford's Translation, Oxford University Press, New York and London, 1945, p. 199.

⁷ Great Books Programs or Discussions in the following cities sent in replies to my questionnaire: Albany, New York; Annapolis, Maryland; Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wisconsin; New Orleans, Louisiana; New York, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Portland, Maine; Providence, Rhode Island; St. Louis, Missouri; Springfield, Massachusetts; Washington, D. C.

⁸ *The Great Books in the Modern World*, University College, The University of Chicago, pp. 4-5.

⁹ See note 8, pp. 5-10.

"TRENDS AND EVENTS"

(Continued from Page 354)

in the past to offer to students. But to give the spirit of the Classics, it is necessary to provide a real taste of the works themselves, even at a sacrifice of a comprehensive view of the whole era. The main problem, Prof. Agard said, was the painful question of what to leave out.

President Nathan Pusey's discussion of "New Courses With Old Teachers" stressed that very important decision that must be made, whether we shall have the old teachers thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Classics and thoroughly equipped to teach them even in the form of translation, or shall we hastily equip new teachers to teach the Classics less well, though in a more related way to the entire history of literature?

There are important decisions to be made as to "The Role of the Classics in General Education," according to Norman T. Pratt of Indiana University. They cannot be omitted from General Education programs. No matter how many unpleasant tags such as "ancient," "not suited to present day society," "not suited to adult needs of today," the Educationists may have tacked on in the past, no study of the Humanities in a General Education program can escape treatment of the basic ideas expressed in the Greek and Latin

literatures. And one decision that must be made is how much of "ancient" civilization and study of society should be included.

Professor Clark Hopkins of the University of Michigan outlined the Great Books Program that has been operating on his campus and discussed the problem of "The Choice of Books in Humanities Courses." At Michigan, he said, there was no desire to offer a general survey course. "On the other hand, with the disappearance of classical learning as a requirement, there was the feeling that some course on Ancient Literature, in broader aspects, on the Great Books of the World should be offered to the freshmen."

The classes are limited to 25-30 so that class discussion may be the basis of teaching. The classes meet four times a week, reading about 50 pages a lesson. The instructors come from the departments of Classics, English, German, History, Philosophy, Political Science, and Romance Languages. "An attempt is made to approach the books from the point of view of subject matter, the epic, philosophy, history, drama, etc. These are taken not merely as literature, or as bearers of ideas, but as belonging in the special category and to be treated in discussion as a modern book on a similar subject might be dealt with."

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 403

The classical view of friendship—
The bond of civilized men.

. . . Libasque ex Omnibus

Sister Gertrude Emilie, F.S.E.

FRIENDSHIP, which held an important place in the moral system of the Ancients, came into prominence during post-Platonic days. Crito, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus had written treatises especially devoted to it. Cicero, nourished in the schools of Greek philosophy from his youth, wandered over the whole field of Greek thought and selected from it, doctrines which struck him as having the semblance of truth. Familiar with the Ethics of Aristotle, the Peripatetics, Epicureans and Stoics, we find him adopting doctrines which fitted in with his own concept of personal honor and rejecting those tenets which did not further his own views of friendship as a bond of society and his deeply rooted principle of *necessitas erga amicos*.¹ There has been much conjecturing amongst scholars as to which school of thought most affected him, and from which philosophy the greater part of the principles of friendship incorporated in his works are derived. These various schools frequently borrowed from one another and many a supposedly Stoic idea could be found in the works of the Peripatetic philosophers. At least one thing is clear: Theophrastus, the faithful follower of Aristotle, was one of Cicero's favorite authors. Aulus Gellius had read the Greek philosopher's *περί φιλίας*, and having noted the similarities which Cicero's *Laelius* bore to it said, "Eum librum M. Cicero videretur legisse cum ipse quoque de amicitia componeret."²

It is not impossible, however, to bring to

light some of the principal tenets which these schools set forth in their doctrine of friendship, which principles they held in common, together with echoes of these in Cicero's conception of friendship.

It is evident from the fragments which have come down to us of Theophrastus' work that he followed Aristotle very closely; so closely indeed, that viewing these scattered fragments, one wonders what belongs to Aristotle and what to Theophrastus. Books viii and ix of the *Nicomachean Ethics* shed considerable light on Theophrastus, who seems to have developed certain points in the doctrine of friendship on less severe lines. For instance, Aristotle would never have admitted that an injustice committed to favor a friend, was a justifiable act. The Peripatetics and Cicero would make this concession. Aristotle was adamant on this point; he would prefer to hurt a friend rather than give him pleasure by resorting to injustice.³ When forced to choose between his master's, Plato's teaching, and a question of justice, "Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas," was the memorable verdict which he handed to posterity.

The general object of Aristotle's moral doctrine is the state, and virtue in the state, is justice. Justice and friendship have much in common, in fact, they go hand in hand; therefore, that portion of Aristotelian ethics which treats of friendship, enters into great detail. Aristotle believes that the end of love and friendship is the social and civil state. Friendship arises out of the same wants which give rise to political communities. Man is a political animal, and it is necessary to the perfection of his nature to enter into a rational society with his fellows. Love forms the bond of community among friends and

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every species of community forms an element of a political state.⁴

The Peripatetics voicing Aristotle's teaching say that friendship is *immatam* in both animals and men.⁵ As early as 87 B.C. Cicero writes:

"ac natura quidem ius esse, quod nobis non opinio, sed quaedam innata vis afferat ut . . . pietatem . . ."⁶

We are so constituted, he repeatedly says:

" . . . ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnis esset societas quaedam."⁷

Friendship is necessary for happiness. Without it life is sad and wearisome for it is a considerable element in human happiness.⁸ "It is," says Theophrastus, "more necessary than fire and water" and Cicero asks:

"quis tam esset ferreus . . . cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?"⁹

Friendship founded on virtue is far superior to every other which subsists only for profit or amusement; it alone is lasting, for virtue alone is constant, both Aristotle and the Peripatetics hold;¹⁰ and Cicero tells his Roman audience:

"Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinet, eadem commutata dissolveret"¹¹

for he continues:

"Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis adliciat ad diligendum."¹²

True friendship, Aristotle maintains, exists only among the good, and although those connections founded on utility and pleasure are called friendships, they are friendships only by analogy, and in virtue of their likeness to true friendship.¹³ But Cicero says that one must not exact that perfect virtue without which the Stoics say that no true friendship can exist.¹⁴

The first rule of friendship which Aristotle taught, required one neither to ask nor to grant anything which might be contrary to virtue, and Cicero followed him when he wrote:

" . . . neque quidquam unquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit . . ."¹⁵

Aristotle would have friendship restricted to a few. However, the books of individual ethics which have come down to us, give various precepts concerning the number of one's friends. The *Nicomachean Ethics* restricts the number to a few, because virtue is sought only by the few and Cicero follows this precept saying:

" . . . quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est, et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas, ut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur."¹⁶

Plutarch who follows Theophrastus very closely calls it a *rara avis*.

Aristotle believed that the advantages of the state must not be sacrificed for the interests and pleasure of friends, and Cicero the great lover of the *Res Romana* exclaims:

"Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda, cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur."¹⁷

True friendships have been tried and tested, says Aristotle, and are not hastily contracted, continue the Peripatetics. Cicero, pursuing the theme insists that prudence demands that

" . . . quo utamur, quasi equis temptatis, sic amicitia, ex aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum."¹⁸

Plutarch, quoting Theophrastus, says that one must judge before loving.¹⁹ Cicero, agreeing with him, continues:

" . . . cum iudicaris, diligere oportet; non, cum dilexeris, iudicare."²⁰

Aristotle would have a very great similarity existing between true friends,²¹ and Cicero thought that its whole strength rested in the perfect harmony of *voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum*,²² for what else is friendship but

" . . . omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio."²³

Aristotle had said that a friend was another self,²⁴ and the Peripatetics followed by Cicero agreed, the latter exclaiming:

"est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem."²⁵

Ten years before saying this, in 54 B.C. Cicero had written thus to Caesar:

"Vide quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum."²⁶

In friendship there is but one soul in several bodies says Aristotle²⁷ and Cicero echoes:

"... ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus";²⁸

and again:

"Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus"²⁹

Each one wishes above all else to attain the absolute good. This is true since it is an essential need and our nature's ultimate goal; but Aristotle continues: in questions of secondary goods, friendship ordains that we obtain them first for those whom we love. He chooses the better part who sacrifices himself for his friends.³⁰ Even Epicurus would have this. Cicero wishes

"... ne expectemus quidem, dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit"³¹

In true friendship Aristotle, the Peripatetics, and Cicero unanimously voice the opinion that loving is more characteristic of true friendship than being loved. Montaigne neatly expresses this view when he writes:

"En la vraye amitie, dans laquelle je suis expert, je me donne a mon ami plus que je ne le tire a moi. Je n'aime pas seulement mieulx lui faire bien, que s'il m'en faisait, mais encore qu'il s'en fasse qu'a moy: il m'en faict lors le plus, quand il s'en faict."³²

Had Aristotle and the Peripatetics come down the centuries in search of adherents to their principles of friendship, they would have recognized, incorporated in Cicero's doctrine, many of the principles advocated by them; principles whole-heartedly espoused, others rejected and yet others toned down by means of a less categorical statement.

One can safely state, however, that Cicero was not guided by Epicurean ethics;³³ but he did admit that Epicurus expressed many noble sentiments.³⁴ Epicurus was himself a kind, benevolent and genial companion.³⁵ Cicero calls him *vir optimus*,³⁶ and *bonum virum et*

comem et humanum.³⁷ This kindly disposition is felt in his teachings. Contrary to the inflexible sternness of the Stoics, he insists upon compassion and forgiveness.³⁸ Unmindful, for a moment, of his personal happiness, he exclaims:

"quodcirca eodem modo sapiens erit affectus erga amicum, quo in se ipsum."³⁹

and better still:

"It is more blessed to give than to receive"⁴⁰

he cries in unison with Aristotle, the Peripatetics and with the later Cicero. With the philosophers who preceded him and with those who followed him, Epicurus held friendship in high esteem. It was to him the highest of earthly goods which he exalted even to the skies.⁴¹ Had not Aristotle and Theophrastus maintained this, and what greater gift, wondered Cicero, *sapientia excepta*, had the gods given to man?⁴² Friendship was, in Epicurus' estimation, the highest form of social life. He taught that a man ought to seek personal advantage and enjoyment by every means in his power. Maintaining this view of life, it is natural for Cicero to have exclaimed with Epicurus:

"... omnium rerum, quas ad beate vivendum sapientia comparaverit, nihil esse maius amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil iucundius."⁴³

But the framework of the Epicurean theory of friendship is built upon shifting sands for the advantage which accrues from it is all important.⁴⁴ Utility is the wise man's motive in seeking a friend:

"... ut habeat qui sibi aegro adsideat, succurrat in vincula coniecto vel inopi"⁴⁵

The Epicurean believes that if friendship endures for some time, unmindful of its utility, there arises a "quandam benevolentiam," and

"cum autem usus progrediens familiaritatem effecerit, tum amorem efflorescere tantum, ut, etiam si sit nulla utilitas ex amicitia, tamen ipsi amici propter se ipsos amentur."⁴⁶

Cicero was far from agreeing with the Epicurean doctrine of utility.

"They, the Epicureans, think that friendship is useful and refer all things to pleasure,"⁴⁷

he says disapprovingly; yet, they do believe it necessary since

"... solitudo et vita sine amicis insidiarum et metus plena sit, ratio ipsa monet amicitias comparare, quibus partis, confirmatus animus et a spe parietarum voluptatum seiungi non potest."⁴⁸

Philodemus, for these same reasons, believes that it is much better to cultivate friendship than to withdraw from it.

A particular value was attached to the personal relations of society and friendship wherever the Epicurean standard of enjoyment prevailed. Its benefits are such, it is beyond any doubt the greatest of goods, that it is far more important in whose company we eat and drink, than what we eat and drink.⁴⁹ Neither does Epicurus hesitate to say that in case of emergency, the wise man will not shrink from suffering pains, even death, for his friend.⁵⁰

But in spite of these maxims, humane and generous in tone, the *integritas* of Epicurean friendship, has, in antiquity, as well as in our day, been looked upon with doubt and misgiving.

It is a noteworthy fact that, widely as the Epicurean and Stoic schools of thought differed in other respects, they were agreed in recognizing the surpassing importance of friendship. Both were agreed that friendship was desirable, the one school claiming that it was in itself a good, and the other, that its cultivation was a duty. Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, taught that a man exists for society rather than for himself, hence, that unselfish friendship is the finest proof of personal virtue. Epicurus, on the other hand, taught that a man ought to seek personal enjoyment and advantage by every means in his power, and holding this view of life, he is reported by Cicero as claiming that of all things which philosophy brings together for a happy life, nothing is greater than friendship.⁵¹

The Stoics fought the utilitarian motives of the Epicurean School and Cicero rallied to the Stoic standard; for with them he believed

that friendship sprang rather from nature than from need.⁵²

If a man, the Stoics held, is intended to associate with his fellowmen in a society regulated by justice and law, he is not justified in withdrawing from the state to live in leisure, unhampered by the duties and cares which public life engenders. Virtue consists in action and all who are wise are virtuous and are friends.

"Censent autem sapientes sapientibus etiam ignotis esse amicos: nihil est virtute amabilius, quam qui adeptus erit, ubicumque erit gentium a nobis diligetur."⁵³

Cicero fully endorses this and says:

"Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis adiciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos nunquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus."⁵⁴

The Stoics further advance that the wise man alone knows how to love properly. True friendship exists only among the wise, since they alone possess the art of making friends.

"... faciendarum amicitiarum artifex..."⁵⁵

and since love is only won by love:

"Si vis amari, ama,"⁵⁶

says Seneca.

Diogenes Laertes says:

"Inter malos homines amicitiam constare non posse putabant."⁵⁷

and Cicero restates the same rule.⁵⁸

Cicero does not concede that virtue is the only good. The Stoics hold that it is greater than friendship and Cicero says that:

"... virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest."⁵⁹

Friendship is the greatest good *sapientia excepta*.⁶⁰

Aristotle and the Peripatetics had recognized three kinds of friendship, the highest being that which is formed in virtue. This friendship alone is recognized by the Stoics and by Cicero. Yet, if one looks closely into the *Laelius*, one finds Cicero speaking of that friendship which

"... et delectat et prodest..."⁶¹

The Stoics may gather as many friends as possible but Cicero follows Aristotle who would limit friendship to a very few.

Whether the post-Platonic Philosophers based their doctrine of friendship upon love or nature, upon utility or virtue, all believed:

"Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt,"⁶²

and Cicero, surveying the whole field, incorporated in his philosophy of life this truth espoused by all the schools.

NOTES

- ¹ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5. 82.
- ² Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 1. 3. 11.
- ³ Cf. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 4. 6. 7. (All references to the Nichomachean Ethics are taken from the Loeb Edition: London: William Heinemann, 1926.)
- ⁴ Cf. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 8. 1. 4 and 5; 8. 9. 4.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 8. 1. 3.
- ⁶ Cicero, *de Inventione*, 2. 22. 66.
- ⁷ Cicero, *Laelius*, 5. 19; Cf. also, *de Officiis*, 1. 12; 50; 157; *de Finibus*, 3. 63; 66; 4. 4.
- ⁸ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 8. 1. 1.
- ⁹ Cicero, *Laelius*, 23. 87.
- ¹⁰ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 8. 3. 6.
- ¹¹ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 9. 32.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 8. 28.
- ¹³ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 8. 4. 4.
- ¹⁴ Cicero, *Laelius*, 5. 18; 6. 21; 11. 38.
- ¹⁵ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 22. 82.
- ¹⁶ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 5. 20.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12. 40.
- ¹⁸ Cicero, *Laelius*, 17. 63.
- ¹⁹ Plutarch, *de Fratre Amore*, 8.
- ²⁰ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 22. 85.
- ²¹ Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 8. 8. 6.
- ²² Cicero, *op. cit.*, 4. 15.
- ²³ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 6. 20.
- ²⁴ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 9. 9. 10.
- ²⁵ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 21. 80.
- ²⁶ Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 7. 5. 1.
- ²⁷ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 9. 8. 2.
- ²⁸ Cicero, *Laelius*, 21. 81.
- ²⁹ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 25. 92.
- ³⁰ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 9. 8. 9.
- ³¹ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 13. 44.
- ³² Montaigne, *Essais. L'Amitie*. (Nouvelle Edition avec des Notes Choisis. Par M. J. V. Leclerc. 5^e Edition. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1885), Tome I. Livre I. Chapitre 27.
- ³³ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3. 37.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5. 26.
- ³⁵ Diogenes Laertes, 10. 9. (All references to Diogenes Laertes are from the Loeb Edition. London: William Heinemann, 1925.)

- ³⁶ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 2. 44.
- ³⁷ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 2. 80.
- ³⁸ Diogenes Laertes, 10. 118.
- ³⁹ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 1. 68.
- ⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Non Posse Suaviter Viri Secundum Epicurum*, 15. 4.
- ⁴¹ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 2. 80.
- ⁴² Cicero, *Laelius*, 6. 20.
- ⁴³ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 1. 65.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1. 66.
- ⁴⁵ Seneca, *Epistulae*, 9. 8.
- ⁴⁶ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 1. 69.
- ⁴⁷ Cicero, *Laelius*, 9. 32.
- ⁴⁸ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 1. 66.
- ⁴⁹ Seneca, *op. cit.*, 19. 11.
- ⁵⁰ Diogenes Laertes, 10. 121.
- ⁵¹ Cicero, *de Finibus*, 1. 65.
- ⁵² Cicero, *Laelius*, 8. 27.
- ⁵³ Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 1. 121.
- ⁵⁴ Cicero, *Laelius*, 8. 28.
- ⁵⁵ Seneca, *op. cit.*, 9. 5.
- ⁵⁶ Seneca, *op. cit.*, 9. 6.
- ⁵⁷ Diogenes Laertes, 7. 124.
- ⁵⁸ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 5. 18.
- ⁵⁹ Cicero, *op. cit.*, 6. 20.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6. 20.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6. 22.
- ⁶² Cicero, *op. cit.*, 13. 47.

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE
INSTITUTE

The American Classical League will holds its third annual Latin Institute on June 15, 16, 17, 1950, at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Participating in this year's program will be some twenty-five classics instructors, among them Professor Rhys Carpenter of Bryn Mawr College, an internationally known authority on classical archaeology.

CANE SUMMER AWARD

The Scholarship Committee of the Classical Association of New England has awarded the Association's Scholarship for study at the 1950 Summer Session of the School for Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome to Mr. Whitney Blair, a teacher at Hebron Academy, Hebron, Maine

CAMWS MEETING

Members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South are reminded that the Forty-Seventh Annual meeting of their group will be held in Memphis, Tennessee, March 29-31, 1951.

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

Desinas Ineptire

FROM TIME TO TIME in the past five years, we (the undersigned) have expressed our opinions on many subjects in this space. Indeed, as a better writer than we might have put it, *Difficile est [lancem] saturam non scribere*. And so, it is with much more than regret that we write for the last time under the standing head.

Difficile est longum subito deponere amorem.

We wish it were possible here to express thanks to all who have contributed in one way or another to the prospering of *CJ* in the past five years. If any distinction is to be allotted to the retiring editor, it should be that he has shown a modicum of skill in acting as agent for the constructive thought and work of others. And much is owed to the George Banta Publishing Company and its representatives. Their interest in *CJ* has gone far beyond the terms of a written contract.

Difficile est, uerum hoc qua libet efficias.

There are compensations for the anguish of decision. Soon will be gone the haunting feeling that, for all that one can do, *CJ* is going to be late again. And soon will be gone the fat file folder labelled "To-Be-Answered."

But there is the pleasant prospect that *CJ* is going to be in good hands. We in the Middle West and South (and a good many, elsewhere) have known Clyde Murley as a tireless worker for the common good, a gentle man but firm, a humorist and a humanist—and one who sees things steadily. We ask for him the understanding tolerance—he will need less of it—that has been so generously shown his predecessor. Especially in regard to correspondence. The production of *CJ* involves a series of crises, and when the magazine has to be put together, the amenities must be neglected.

Claudio feliciter!

Perhaps now the retiring editor may pre-sume upon his service to look about him, not too cheerfully.

In spite of local alarums, Latin in the secondary schools is not faring badly, on the whole. There are even signs here and there of a reaction in its favor. We have just received a clipping (thoughtfully forwarded by Mr. Walter Swanson), from the *Denver Post*. The clipping tells how parents in Denver, that citadel of the it-should-make-sense curriculum, recently brought about the offering of Latin in a junior high school by sheer force of protest. For the holding of the line in this way we have to thank many parents and those many dedicated men and women in the secondary schools who are realistically facing the stubborn irreducible facts.

We wish we could be as optimistic about the future of the Department of Classics as a national denomination. Never mind about the cause of the Classics. The great documents will survive, with or without us. What we need to think about, frankly, is jobs—especially for members of the Department who are not yet on tenure, and for our majors and graduate students. What shall one say to a sophomore who is thinking of majoring? Five or six years later, will he be eating?

We were startled, we must confess, when the president of one of our leading classical organizations, on a keynote occasion, sounded clarion calls for more cooperation in the great cause of leading more students to an appreciation of the beauties of Latin literature.

We were startled, too, when a group, which met rather recently to talk over the future of classical scholarship, left matters exactly where they were. The preliminary discussion, it is true, revealed some ill-articulated restlessness on the part of certain junior members of the group, but gradually the traditional hierarchy of values was reasserted. The discussion, as such, quite naturally came to an end when one of our most distinguished scholarly colleagues spoke favorably of intellectual honesty in scholarship.

Cooperation, beauty, intellectual honesty cannot be discussed in the absolute. But it is

also intellectually honest, and the part of courage, to recognize that they are not absolutes, but relative terms within a given context—and that it is the context that is now in question. The context in question was established in the nineteenth century, and all scientists and scholars who think outside of the data selected for them by their special field of enquiry must recognize that we stand now at the mid-point in the twentieth century. That is to say, research in many fields is revealing that the basic nature of things seems to lie in an open system (mathematically speaking). Our values in classical scholarship had their origin in a period when the basic nature of things was thought to lie in a closed system—when it was believed that research could grasp, or was about to grasp, the actual nature of things, or at least some things.

Today, research in the fields of enquiry laid down in the nineteenth century can reveal only additional items of information, out of an infinite range, about things that become intellectually more and more remote the closer we thought we were coming to them.

There is an unimagined opportunity for cooperation, enquiry, and intellectual honesty in establishing values and standards of relevance in the new system of things of which scholarship has not yet taken account. And at the same time it should be remembered that the pursuit of truth (or beauty, or other value-judgments) without reference to higher judicial processes which are exterior to the individual is sometimes indistinguishable from social irresponsibility.

N.J.D.

—Liber Animalium

PORCUS

SI QUIS FORTE ROGET qua carne hic noster Caesar vescatur ut tam magnus exstiterit, statim sit respondendum "porcina." Populus Romanus ante omnia porcinam tollebat. Opus non erat rem agitare, clamorem tollere, dies porcinos instituere et cives exhortari ut plus porcinae ederent. Iam ab urbe condita plus porcinae ederant. Illi milites robusti qui totum mundum vicerunt porcina alebantur. Etiam dei Romani hanc carnem praeferebant. Certe prope aras eorum stridor porci miseri saepissime audiebatur.

Tanti quidem Romani porcos fecerunt ut non puderet viros clarissimos Porcios appellari. Nobis res ridicula videtur sed ille Cato qui propter sapientiam gloriam aeternam adeptus est, nomine Marcus Porcius, Anglice potest appellari Mark Hogg. Nomen autem illius Portiae, quae in fabula Shakesperiana tam superbe in scenam incedit, si juste scriptum, Porcia est, id est Piggy. In monumento sepulchrali Romae nomen legitur Porcella. Misera puellula modo quinque annos vixit

Quondam puella parvula quae in urbe semper habitaverat in rus primum educta est.

Cum forte gregem porcorum ibi vidisset, exclamavit: "Quam obsceni sunt! Estne admirandum quod porci vocantur?" Valde erravit. Porcus mundus esse mavult sed non licet. Stupidus quoque vocatur sed iniuste. Agricola quidam in pomarium immisit scrofam—nam ita mater porcorum vocatur—una cum novem porcellis. Afflicta prurigne contra truncum pomi se vehementer fricuit. Ceciderunt aliquot poma, quae cupide devorata sunt. Mox iterum prurigne impulsus eodem modo se fricuit. Plura poma ceciderunt. Tandem ei in mentem venit, etiamsi sine prurigne se fricaret, poma casura esse. Itaque per experientiam docta omnes arbores circumibat dum et ipsa et porcellae pomis satiantur. Ingenium demonstravit.

Res tristissima est sed porcis non licet vel diu vivere vel intelligentiam excolere. Caro melior est quam cui parcatur. Paene omnis pars bona est, seu recens seu salsa seu fumosa. Solus stridor amittitur qui neque sale neque fumo conservari possit.

ANON.

We See By the Papers

Edited by William C. Salyer

THE CONTENT of this department, now rounding out its third year as a regular feature of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, has offered persistent testimony to one facet of American journalism: its fondness for drawing parallels from antiquity. "SPQR was there!" might well be its slogan; a considerable proportion of the delectable items that our readers clip and mail us make (and need) no other claim on the public interest. If a news writer can demonstrate that the Romans did it before us, or the Greeks had a word for it, or archaeological finds prove . . . —he has a story, and it doesn't seem to matter greatly whether it is relevant to the day's headlines or not.

For example, a column from the Arkansas GAZETTE sent us by Miss Essie Hill of Little Rock discusses the project of assessing all the property in England, to be undertaken this year by the Inland Revenue Department, and compares it to the universal survey and assessment of the Roman Empire performed by Augustus. The writer concludes: "The Romans did not have steam or electricity . . . but they excelled in . . . the science of government." An article in the New York TIMES of March 11, giving an account of a new compound for high blood pressure developed by Dr. Oskar Wintersteiner of the Squibb Institute for Medical Research, characterizes it as an extract from a plant used by Hippocrates, namely hellebore, or *Veratrum viride*. Dr. Wintersteiner pointed out that Demosthenes in one of his orations prescribed hellebore for the complaints of his political opponents. But apparently the doctor did not make it clear whether they were supposed to be suffering from high blood pressure or from the complaint for which this treatment was usually recommended—insanity. (Clipping received from Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College.) An editorial in the SATURDAY EVENING POST of March 18, apropos to the "Mighty Mo" stuck in a mudbank, and the question whether battleships are obsolete in 1950, remarks: "The battleship was first pronounced obsolete with Latin finality when the Romans devised the corvus, or raven, of metal to drop with a crash from their yardarms through the decks and bottoms of opposing war galleys. The corvus may have helped to destroy Carthage, but

it didn't sink the battleship in perpetuity." (Thanks to Professor E. C. Echols of the University of Alabama.)

Here are a few nuggets that have appeared in recent newspapers, entirely devoid of context, space-filling *non sequiturs*. The fact that: the Romans used mouldy bread to hasten the healing of wounds, and penicillin today is produced from mould; Greek temples in 200 B.C. used coin vending machines to distribute holy water; Hippocrates used a leather-soled boot in the treatment of club foot; in a Bacchic celebration in Alexandria in the second century B.C. a giant wine container was drawn through the streets by 600 men and carried 30,000 gallons of wine.

"CAN OLD AGE BE FUN?" the caption of Ralph Coghlan's "St. Louis Letter" column in the POST-DISPATCH of April 7, introduces a résumé of Cicero's *De Senectute*, interspersed with appropriate citations of Browning's "Grow old along with me!" and Shakespeare's King Lear, the activities of octogenarians Bernard Baruch and Arturo Toscanini, and the rapidly increasing proportion of older population indicated by the U.S. census figures. In conclusion the columnist quotes a letter from an oldster who recommends farm life and gardening for the occupation of old age, a letter that might have been inspired by Cicero, if it were not innocent of literary pretense. "From my own experience I would say that a small place in the country would be a happy solution in a large percentage of cases. I know of an old Terminal employe past 70 who sits in the kitchen all day smoking his pipe and the only exercise he gets is walking his dog. How much better off this old fellow would be if he had a small garden to tend, a few chickens to care for and, if he were ambitious, a cow to feed and milk!"

THE BRITISH BIOGRAPHER and diplomat, Harold Nicholson, writing in the LONDON SPECTATOR, July 8, 1949, commented on a speech advocating a more general international exchange of students, recalling the mediaeval concept of education "as something transcending national boundaries." After mentioning the value of this for understanding between peoples, and acknowledging the importance of Oxford's Rhodes scholarships, he spoke of the problem of language barriers today and how the use of Latin as the Language of education in the Middle Ages obviated the problem. "It is agreeable to picture Erasmus at Oxford,

discussing the Epistle to the Ephesians with John Colet, and in a Latin in which there was no trace of either a Gouda or a London accent. It is agreeable also to picture our young students embarking at Margate for Leyden or Padua with the certainty that on arrival they would immediately be able to understand the lectures which they heard."

Professor E. G. Berry of the University of Manitoba, who sent us the foregoing item, also sent the following letter from the *SPECTATOR* of December 9, 1949, with the helpful explanation that just before the recent election in Great Britain a popular topic of debate was the British Colonial office's unsuccessful attempt to produce groundnuts (i.e., peanuts) in Tanganyika. "SIR.—The literature and history of Rome are often not without a message for today. Did not Catullus say (51.128) 'Satis diu lusisti nucibus'? Pyrrhic victories, too, are not confined to the third century B.C.

Cultores Annonus agros emitit in Afros

(An nescis pueris saepe placere nuces?)

Quaesieris fructus quales nos inde metamus:

Invenietur eis pyrrhicus esse color.

—Yours faithfully, M. D. MACLEOD. *University College, Southampton.*"

COLLEGE STUDENTS TODAY are barred from "full recognition and enjoyment of our English vocabulary" and the literary heritage in large measure because of their ignorance of Latin and the Bible, according to Dean Roger P. McCutcheon of the Graduate School of Tulane University, as reported in the *New York TIMES* of March 26. The item was sent us by Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University.

In view of this alarming observation, perhaps the dean should find what comfort he can in the report that some of the great classics are being rescued for pampered school children in their favorite medium, comic books. Lt. Col. S. G. Brady of Asheville, N. C., sent in a review, from the *New York HERALD-TRIBUNE* of March 12, of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* reduced to comic strips, "forty-five pages of gaudy color pictures." "Cassius has a properly lean and hungry look, Casca and Cinna are every bit as sinister as henchmen should be, etc." The artist is credited with "an authentic collection of togas, temples, armor, jewelry and other trappings, and an impressive restoration of the Roman Forum . . . an appropriately bloody stabbing, a violent uprising after Anthony's speech, and a first-rate battle at

Philippi." "The writer has thrown in a few provident footnotes explaining such words as 'augurers' (sic!) and 'praetors' and phrases like 'it is not meet,' 'et tu, Brute' and 'Ides of March.'" The book is said to have been "prepared with the co-operation of authorities at New York University," and there is a promise that the *Iliad* will soon appear in similar form. O tempora, o mores!

THE VIGOROUS OLD AGE of two classicists in the news might well please Cicero. The *SATURDAY EVENING POST* of January 28 tells, beneath his picture, how "at eighty, James Edward Church, a retired Latin professor, leads a busy life studying snow in the Alps, the Himalayas, the Rockies and the Andes." And *TIME* for March 13 presents a brief biography and character sketch, with a photograph, of Oxford's Gilbert Murray, retired Regius Professor of Greek, on the occasion of the publication of his 23rd translation from Greek drama, *The Birds* of Aristophanes.

A NEW DATE for the founding of Rome, 575 B.C., has been established by Professor Einar Gjerstad of the University of Lund, on the basis of excavations which he claims reveal the earliest pavement of the Forum. He makes Numa the founder instead of Romulus and sets the beginning of the republic about 460 B.C. The story, in the *New York TIMES* of March 30, was clipped for us by Professor Levy.

A view of the Roman Forum and one of the Arch of Constantine, with two scenes from the Vatican, figured in a feature of the (Little Rock) *ARKANSAS GAZETTE* March 19 showing U.S. sailors and marines sight-seeing "among the ruined architectural glories of ancient Rome." (Thanks to Miss Hill.)

FOR A TRULY RECHERCHÉ note on the teaching of the classics abroad, we are indebted to Professor Chauncey E. Finch of St. Louis University. He writes, "The July-August 1949 issue of *GRANI*, a journal published in Russian by Russian refugees living in the western zones of Germany, contains an article by N. Opiso v entitled *Bnutrenniaia Emigratsia v SSSR* (Interior Emigration in the USSR). The expression "interior emigration" is a special term used in Russia to designate the activity of a fairly large, but unor-

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

THE COMPLEXION OF DOMITIAN

THE RELEVANT passages concerning the complexion of Domitian are four:

Pliny, *Paneg.* 48:

femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa.

Tacitus, *Agr.* 45:

saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 40:

ignotis adhuc moribus crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipitur.

Suetonius, *Dom.* 18:

vultu modesto ruborisque pleno.

The countenance of Domitian, then, had a natural flush, or "a recurrent and physical rush of blood to the face, which saved him from the blushes of the spirit," as Hutton¹ would have it. So much we seem to have securely on contemporary, if prejudiced, evidence. It is all but inconceivable that these three authors should have told the same falsehood, either in collusion, or independently. Yet what are we to think when we read in Martial:

quintus cum domino liber iocatur;
quam Germanicus ore non rubenti
coram Cecropia legat puella. (5. 2. 6-8)

Sic me fronte legat dominus, Faustine, serena
excipiatque meos qua solet aure iocus,
ut mea nec iuste quos odit pagina laesit
et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet.

(7. 12. 1-4)

Can we believe that Martial of all people would address these lines to Domitian if the sensitive emperor's face was already *ruboris plenum*?

Many will doubtless urge that we can. Martial's words in the second passage are

very general. Though in the first *ore non rubenti* is not, it may be held either that in A.D. 89/90 (when Martial's fifth book was published) Domitian had not yet acquired this "natural flush" to such a degree that it provoked comment; or that, since during Domitian's lifetime² no one would have ventured to lampoon his appearance, he was not sensitive to the marked coloring of his face and Martial might well allow himself to use *ore non rubenti* metaphorically without fear of offending.

The first of these explanations cannot be maintained unless we impugn the evidence of Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv. 40 cited above, which declares expressly that this characteristic was already remarkable in Domitian's youth (specifically in A.D. 69-70). Unless, indeed, we are to distinguish two physiognomical periods in Domitian's life: his early days, when he blushed frequently (*crebra oris confusio*), and his later years, when (with too frequent blushing?) his face had permanently acquired a deep red "which saved him from the blushes of the spirit."³

Against this in itself not very probable hypothesis one must urge again that if Domitian blushed repeatedly and markedly, or if his face had a peculiar flush, it would be certain to arouse comment in court-circles and would reach the attentive ears of Martial,⁴ even if the poet had not observed it for himself. Martial would be the last person to emphasize any matter which might draw the unfavorable attention of the emperor upon himself and his works.⁵

Must we, then reject the combined evidence of Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius, as well as the later and derived comments of Philostratus⁶ and Procopius?⁷ Another way of approach has been suggested by Miss E. C. Evans' work on the physiognomical

writers.⁸ She points out that handbooks on physiognomy, such as those of the pseudo-Aristotle and Polemo, enjoyed "a far greater popularity with the writers of the Roman Empire than has been granted them." It is evident that Suetonius was familiar with handbooks of the kind and used them freely. It is also clear that the elder Pliny⁹ was aware of the existence of such treatises; he had read the pseudo-Aristotle and quotes a relevant passage from Trogus. But we may not, at the present state of investigation, go further than to suggest that physiognomical interpretation may possibly have had some influence on Tacitus' and Pliny's description of Domitian's complexion.

When we turn to the authorities on face and feature, we find Polemo (38, in *Script. Physiogn.* 1, 246 ed. Förster), Adamantius (35, *ibid.*, 1, 389), and the *Anon. Lat.* (*ibid.*, II, 108) all making statements which may be summarized in the words of the last: *cum vultus rubet, aut verecundum aut vinolentum declarat.*

On the other hand, pseudo-Aristotle (812 A) says that "too ruddy a hue marks a rogue, as in the case of the fox . . . ,¹⁰ a red hue indicates hastiness. A flaming skin denotes mania"; and the *Epit. Matr.* (23 = Förster 1, 389) declares that red countenances indicate fierce and cruel men, or wine-bibbers. Not, be it noted, modest and retiring persons.

There appear to have been, then, two schools of physiognomical interpretation of a permanently red face. One school saw in men so colored only shyness or alcoholism; the other took them to be crafty, sly, and cruel. Now, while it would be too much to suggest that Pliny and Tacitus show traces of the second interpretation (though if they had known of it, it would have suited them well), it is quite likely that Suetonius knew of the first. Note the juxtaposition of words and ideas: *vultu modesto ruborisque pleno, grandibus oculis, verum acie hebetiore; praeterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in iuventa, et quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus* Having just mentioned the redness of the emperor's face, Suetonius proceeds to classify Domitian as *pulcher ac decens*. He interprets, then, the color of his face to indicate pleasant

qualities rather than the reverse, and agrees with the Polemo-Adamantius reading of character, though of course he may have been aware of the other, and if he was, his choice is even more significant.

What may be conclude from all this? In the present state of our knowledge, though Miss Evans has added an immense amount to former investigations, no conclusion can be certain. The line of thought suggested by the passages of Martial has apparently not been helpful; though Pliny and Tacitus exaggerate, Suetonius' more impartial, if formal, evidence makes it very unlikely that the famous description is wholly wrong. Were physiognomical theories of use to Tacitus, consciously or not, in his notorious distortions of character, if not of fact? *Adhuc sub iudice lis est.*

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NOTES

¹ "Loeb Classical Library," ed. of Agricola, p. 249, n. 2.

² It should be remembered that all our authorities, except Martial, published after Domitian's death; Suetonius, our most nearly impartial author, a considerable time thereafter.

³ H. V. Canter (*Stud. Phil.*, xxv, 1928, p. 389) agrees with this view: "face modest and with a tendency to blush, of which he was vain . . . in later years exhibited pallor of body, bloated cheeks, and a haughty, savage, terror-inspiring, shameless countenance." This is a rhetorical compilation from all the authorities, no matter how exaggerated; even Tacitus might not pass such a description.

⁴ It would have been dangerous for Martial to suppose that, while well aware of unflattering remarks about the emperor's complexion, he might forestall unfavorable criticism by a casual and innocent allusion.

⁵ The slipshod tactlessness of a hasty writer, as Martial only too often was, cannot be ruled out. More careful authors have been guilty; at least editors of Propertius, before and after Broekhuysen, who read *mollis* at III. 9. 57, appear to believe so.

⁶ *Vita Apoll.*, VII. 28.

⁷ *Anec.*, VIII. 12 ff. This passage shows clearly that Domitian's complexion, as described by Tacitus, became proverbial.

⁸ *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, XLVI. 43-84, where the bibliography up to 1935 is carefully collected.

⁹ *N.H.*, XI. 273-276, and Evans, *op. cit.*, 59 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Miss Evans' (65 ff.) excellent tabulations of the traits borrowed from animals in Suetonius' *imagines*.

THE TEMPLE OF LIBERTAS ON THE AVENTINE

MANY ATTEMPTS have been made to identify the temple of Libertas with that of Jupiter Libertas, but none of the arguments seems to be conclusive proof.

The process by which the cult title became detached and independent is a familiar phenomenon of Roman religion.¹ As in the case of Fides and Victoria, so also did Libertas become detached from Jupiter and come to be worshipped as a specific goddess.

The temple of Libertas was dedicated by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul in 238 B.C.,² out of the proceeds of fines.³ In 214 his son, who had commanded an army of slave volunteers, gave a painting to the temple. It represented the slave volunteers wearing caps of freedom and white woolen headbands and feasting at Beneventum, a celebration of a victory over the Carthaginians.⁴ Festus also refers⁵ to the temple merely as *Libertatis templum* and also locates it in *Aventino*. Granius Licinius says⁶ that the shape of the land in Campania, which Publius Lentulus had divided among private citizens, was cut in bronze and hung on the wall *ad Libertatis*. However, this should probably refer to the Atrium Libertatis rather than to the temple since the former contained the offices of the censors,⁷ some, at least, of their records,⁸ and laws on bronze tablets.⁹

Jordan on no authority states that either Livy¹⁰ uses the name Libertas for the more complete title Jupiter Libertas or that it is a copyist's omission, which has been perpetuated by the similarity of the Atrium Libertatis.¹¹

There is literary and epigraphic¹² evidence for later temples and statues of Libertas. After Caesar's victory over Pompey the Senate voted a temple of Libertas in his honor and gave him the title of *Liberator*.¹³ When Cicero was banished, Clodius burned his house on the Palatine and erected a temple of Libertas on the site.¹⁴

A denarius,¹⁵ struck about 69 B.C. by Gaius Egnatius Maximus, shows on the reverse Jupiter identified by a thunderbolt and

Libertas, by the *pilleus*. They are standing in the *pronaos* of a temple. Blanchet believes that the representing here of two distinct deities indicates that it is incorrect to make Libertas an epithet of Jupiter,¹⁶ but his theory is proved false by the numerous references¹⁷ to Jupiter Libertas. However, the two figures do indicate that Libertas, once a cult title, was, at least by the first century B.C., considered an independent deity capable of having a temple of her own. Just as the temple of Victoria¹⁸ was built near that of Jupiter Victor¹⁹ on the Palatine, so we may assume that the temple of Libertas was erected near that of Jupiter Libertas.²⁰

The temple of Jupiter Libertas probably dates from the early republican period,²¹ and it is included in Augustus' rebuilding operations among temples of great antiquity.²² The day of the original dedication was the thirteenth of April.²³

The evidence seems to indicate that the temple of Libertas, dedicated by Tiberius Sempronius in 238 B.C., was not the same as that of Jupiter Libertas and that Livy, who is usually accurate in the names and locations of temples, has not confused the two.

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NOTES

¹ Halliday, *History of Roman Religion*, 115-116.

² CIL 1, p. 522.

³ Livy, 24. 16. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 f.

⁵ Festus, p. 108 (Lindsay ed.) s.v. Libertatis.

⁶ Gran. Licin., 28.

⁷ Livy, 43. 16. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Festus, p. 277 (Lindsay ed.). Cf. Jordan, *Topographie* 1. 3. 167.

¹⁰ Livy, 24. 16. 18.

¹¹ Eph. Epig., 1. 237.

¹² Dessau, 3779, 238, 274, 157. Cf. Tac. Agr. 3, Pliny, Epist., 9. 13. 4.

¹³ Dio Cass., 43. 44. 1.

¹⁴ Cic., *De Domo*, 108; Plut. Cic., 33; Dio Cass., 38. 17. 6.

¹⁵ Babelon, *Monnaies*, 1. 473. no. 3.

¹⁶ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, 3. 2. 119 s.v. Libertas.

¹⁷ CIL 14. 2579; 11. 657; *Res. Gest.*, 4. 6; *Notizie degli Scavi*, xviii (1921) p. 92.

¹⁸ Livy, 10. 33. 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10. 29. 14.

²⁰ *Notizie degli Scavi*, loc. cit.

²¹ Platner, *Topography of Rome*, p. 416.

²² *Res Gest.*, 4. 6.

²³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, loc. cit. Ovid (*Fast.*, 4. 621-624) is in error (he shows that he is not certain by the expres-

sion *ni fallor*) in assigning the thirteenth of April as the day of dedication of the Atrium Libertatis. The *Fasti Arvalium* (CIL 1. 1., p. 214) gives the first of September as the day of dedication of Iovi Libero, which Jordan (*Topographie*, 1. 3. 167) believes to be the stone cutter's mistake for Iovi Libert, but it probably refers correctly to the cult of Jupiter Liber, as evidenced in other inscriptions (Dessau 3065, 9236; cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 55, n. 3).

ON BEGINNING TO WRITE EARLY

WHEN THE son of a famous father becomes the author of a book, the literary world takes notice. Mr. Anthony West, son of H. G. Wells, has been known in England for some years as a literary critic; now he has produced his first novel (*The Vintage*, published by Houghton Mifflin, price \$3.00). The story is interesting enough, and furnishes the reader plenty of food for thought. The background consists of the infamous Nuremberg trials. The hero is British Col. Wallis, who succeeds in convicting Nazi Kenelm, and soon thereafter dies by his own hand. In the Great Beyond, the Colonel and his victim find themselves bound together, for they are two of a kind, if not actually the same person. The narrative is sometimes confusing and difficult to follow. It is not the novel itself, however, which interested me most, but rather a bit of advice to young writers in the publicity release: "Don't begin too soon. The number of writers who had anything worthwhile to say before they were 30 can be numbered on the fingers and toes of any normal human being—and one draws on the literature produced in the lifetime of several million people to produce those few." In general, that appears to be good advice, especially if it implies the well-known admonition of Horace: *Saepe stilum vertas*. It has occurred to me, however, that some pretty good Greek and Latin literature would never have been written, if all ancient authors had allowed themselves to be guided by this principle.

I have not made a careful check of the matter, but the following examples come readily to my mind. At the age of twenty, Pindar was employed by a wealthy family to compose an epinician ode; the result was *Pythians* x,

a noteworthy poem, indeed. Other early poems by the same author are *Pythians* v, vii, and xii. Sophocles exhibited his first play, the *Triptolemus*, in 468 B.C., when he was twenty-seven years of age. On this occasion he won the first prize over none other than Aeschylus. The remaining member of that great tragic triumvirate, Euripides, also began to produce early: at twenty-five he exhibited for the first time, but unsuccessfully. He had to wait thirteen more years for his first victory. Aristophanes definitely began to write early in life, so early in fact, that he deemed it wise to produce his first play under the name of Kallistratos. He used the pseudonym Philomides also. The first play staged under his own name, in 424 B.C., was the *Knights*. The date of his birth cannot be fixed with precision, but if we accept c. 456 B.C., he would have been thirty-two years of age at that time. Great oratory, like that of Mr. Churchill, Cicero, and the Attic Ten, merits a place among the categories of literature; so, it may not be amiss to refer here to the early efforts of Andocides and Demosthenes. The former was born c. 440 B.C., and delivered his oration *De Reditu* about 410 B.C. The latter prosecuted Aphobus, his cousin as well as a trustee, soon after he attained his majority, thus laying an early foundation for his brilliant career as a forensic and deliberative orator, as well as a statesman. Hermogenes must have written his handbook on rhetoric in his early twenties. This precocious fellow was appointed teacher, while still a boy, but his mind broke down, when he was twenty-five.

On the Roman side, Terence certainly began to write early. The date of his birth is uncertain: sometimes it is put in 195 B.C., at others, in 185 B.C. Since he died in 160 B.C.,

his life-span was not more than thirty-five years, and may have been only twenty-five years. Even as among the Greeks, so also among the Romans oratory deserves a place in the categories of literature. It is fitting to mention, therefore, that Cicero appeared as an advocate, when he was twenty-five years of age, and won high praise a year later by his bold defense of Sex. Roscius, who had been accused by a friend of Sulla. Catullus did all his writing before he was thirty, if we accept 84 B.C. as the date of his birth. Horace published his first book of *Satires* about 35 B.C., when he was thirty. How many of his epodes and odes had been written by this time is a matter of conjecture. By 39 B.C., at any rate, when he was twenty-six, he had won the admiration of Vergil and Varius, and was introduced by them to Maecenas. Tibullus' life-span falls between c. 55 B.C. and 19 B.C., so that it is quite possible that he wrote some of his elegies before his thirtieth birthday. Propertius published his first book of *Elegies* when he was about twenty. His dates are c. 50 B.C. to 16 B.C. But Cynthia, who inspired his best work, died in 18 B.C., and this fact obliges us to assume that he wrote some of his best poems before reaching the charmed thirties. Lucan died at twenty-six, when he had already given the *Pharsalia* its final form. Perhaps it would have been better if this poem had passed into the limbo of lost along with its youthful author. Persius lived only twenty-eight years, but in his short life he committed much of Horace to memory, and wrote half a dozen good satires in his own right. Tacitus wrote the dialogue on oratory in his youth. Apuleius wrote his *Metamorphoses* before he reached his thirtieth year.

Probably other ancient writers began to produce early in life, but in their case proof is lacking. For example, Archilochus seems to have left Paros as a young man, and to have spent some years fighting. *Fr.* 6 tells how he threw his shield away (like Alcaeus). Also, his iambics on Neobule (*fr.* 114) probably belong to his youthful years. Anacreon's fine epigram (*fr.* 100, Bergk) on the death of a fellow-soldier was probably written during his early years when he served as a soldier in

Thrace. Accius was the recognized literary master of Rome for about fifty years. Unless he was blessed with unusual longevity, he must have achieved a high reputation early in order to have held his exalted position for half a century. It is said that he lived to be eighty. If Vergil wrote the *Gnat*, he probably did so during his middle twenties; his *Bucolics* were written soon thereafter. Martial came to Rome as a youth, and probably eked out his meager existence from the beginning by his writing and flattery.

If we look at the other side of the picture, we find but few men who started their writing late in life, and still gained literary fame. For example, Pacuvius definitely began in his later years, and time has not judged favorably of his merits for it has preserved only scattered fragments of his works. Cicero ranks him first among the Roman tragedians, but that position rightfully belongs to Accius. Sallust's literary activities belong to the last nine years of his life, from 44 B.C. to 35 B.C. In other words, he began to write when he was forty-two years of age. Likewise, Suetonius devoted only the last years of his life to writing. Not one of these men can claim a high position among the ancient writers. On the other hand, Quintilian, too, published his works late, after he had withdrawn from public life. Internal evidence indicates that Juvenal's *Satires* were written late in life. And Juvenal, it will be remembered, may well have been an octogenarian.

Since a normal human being has twenty digits, counting both fingers and toes, Mr. West's statement is not far wide of the mark when applied to the ancient Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, some pretty good Greek and Latin literature would never have come into being, if all the ancient writers had adhered to Mr. West's dictum. Perhaps the safest policy for any writer to follow is to write when he feels the inspiration, regardless of his years. The divine *afflatus* must not be spurned, whenever it may come, or it may never condescend to return.

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GREEK WISDOM AND BROWNING: A REPLY

MR. William L. Thompson in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL for February, 1950 (pp. 246-248) makes an ill-advised and ineffectual attempt to claim Browning as a classicist. In his note called "Greek Wisdom and Browning," he says that Browning did not repudiate the Greeks. He proves his contention to no one's satisfaction, I trust, but his own, for his evidence is both meager and mistaken.

Before proceeding to a short reply to Mr. Thompson's contention, I must mention three of the most objectionable features of his article. The first of these is difficult to understand or excuse. Says Mr. Thompson: "Twelve years after the date of publication of *Lairesse*, which appeared in 1877, Browning published his last volume, *Asolando* . . ." Possibly Mr. Thompson hoped to gain some advantage to his argument by double-dating *Lairesse* and thereby pointing up a lapse of twelve years between it and *Asolando*. Actually, of course, *Lairesse* was published as one of the *Parleyings* in 1887, two years before *Asolando*, a fact ascertainable in any handbook including De Vane's *A Browning Handbook*.

The second objectionable feature is the bracketed sic placed after the word "Hellenistic" in a quotation from De Vane. What kind of obscure pedantry is that?

The third objectionable feature, though not so clear-cut, is the most reprehensible of all. Mr. Thompson insinuates that De Vane has rigged the case for Browning's apostasy from the classical tradition by resting his charge on a "slender basis" of fifteen lines from *Lairesse* and by "an inexplicable overlooking of nearly the last poem Browning ever wrote, 'Development.'" "Whereas De Vane," Mr. Thompson implies, "has used only fifteen lines from *Lairesse*, I have analysed the 'whole poem' and 'emphatically' tell you, the reader, what it says." It would not be enough to say, at this point, that De Vane is the soundest and most complete of Browning scholars. It is more to the point to say, and prove, that the lines from *Lairesse* are

not a slender basis, but a substantial one, for De Vane's contention and that "Development" has nothing to do with the case.

Mr. Thompson's article is primarily an attack on De Vane. He accuses him of using the word *philosophy* in "so vague a manner that it is difficult to ascertain the precise meaning he intends." He adds: "the word *philosophy* . . . if words mean anything, does not mean religion." Words do mean something, of course, and philosophy, among other things, is "a body of philosophical principles; esp. the body of principles underlying a . . . religious system." I suspect that this is the meaning De Vane had in mind. The fifteen lines from *Lairesse* show Browning's rejection of the body of principles underlying the Greek religious system. The complete evidence for Browning's defection is set forth by De Vane in *Nineteenth Century Studies*, ed. Herbert Davis, W. C. De Vane, R. C. Bald (Cornell University Press, 1940, pp. 179-198). The article is entitled "Browning and the Spirit of Greece." Since De Vane's analysis of *Lairesse* does not, as it should, convince Mr. Thompson, I recommend this second study to his attention.

In the poem "Development," Mr. Thompson sees Browning paying "glad life's arrears" of gratitude to the great tradition as exemplified in Aristotle and Homer." The central tribute of the poem is not to the Greeks at all; it is to the teaching methods of Browning's father. The poet *did* admire and enjoy Homer. De Vane does not deny this. Browning does not show great admiration for Aristotle's *Ethics*, for he says

'tis a treatise I find hard
To read aright now that my hair is gray,
And I can manage the original.

But the point is, De Vane's point I think, that the spirit of Greece was not in Browning and never was, save once, when he wrote "Artemis Prologizes" while sick abed with fever. "When," as De Vane rightly says, "Matthew Arnold and other Hellenists proclaimed the Greek civilization the greatest mankind had

yet evolved, Browning's whole nature revolted." (*Browning's Parleyings: The Autobiography of a Mind*, p. 238.) Why? Because he felt that under a Christian dispensation—an advanced philosophy—man can glory in his imperfections as warrant of perfection to come; whereas despair is the only possible lot of the end-product of Greek culture. (See "Old Pictures in Florence" and "Cleon.")

"To his dying day," Mr. Thompson assures us, "Browning's exuberant spirit found strength and repose in the shadow of that great rock"; i.e., "the great tradition as exemplified in Aristotle and Homer." This is the wrong rock. Browning found strength and repose in the Rock of Ages.

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TWO MAJOR LATIN CONTESTS

WITHOUT NATIONAL FANFARE, Latin continues to attract numbers of students to an extent that seldom fails to surprise educators and members of the public who are unaware of the true situation.

Annual Latin contests on a local basis are one evidence of the vitality of the subject. A comprehensive round-up of activity in this area of promotion on a nation-wide basis would undoubtedly surprise even Latin teachers.

Two important contests have recently come to the attention of *CJ*.

The sixteenth annual Baird Memorial Latin Contest of Washington Square College, New York University, was held on Saturday morning, April 1, 1950. The contest drew teams from 137 schools.

Contestants were divided into two groups; the Upper Group consisted of students in their third or fourth year of Latin, the Lower Group of those in their second year of Latin. The examination for the Upper Group consisted of sight translation of Latin prose similar to that of Cicero; for the Lower Group the examination was based on prose similar to that of Caesar.

Each school was allowed to enter one team, consisting of three members, in each Group. Schools were limited to three contestants in each Group, a total of six from each school. If one or two con-

testants were entered, they competed as individuals for individual awards.

A bronze urn was awarded to the highest team in each Group. The urn becomes the permanent possession of the school whose team wins the urn three times, not necessarily in consecutive years.

The best paper in each Group receives a gold medal; the best paper in each Region (of the five into which the New York area schools are divided) in each Group receives a silver medal, with bronze medals for the second-best papers. Certificates of honorable-mention, usually from 35 to 40, are issued to meritorious individual papers.

This year 616 students participated in the contest (273 in the Upper Group, 343 in the Lower Group). Over 100 teachers accompanied their students and participated in a round-table discussion and social hour while the students were taking the examination.

"So far as I know," writes Dr. Coleman Benedict, member of Washington Square's Department of Classics in charge of the contest, "it is the largest Latin contest in the U. S. In fact, it even overshadows contests in the sciences." Dr. Benedict may be right; it is no mean feat to assemble over seven hundred people even for a picnic with hot-dogs and sauerkraut for free, much less a Latin contest.

A second major Latin Contest is that held every two years in Connecticut. (The following description is abridged from a report by Miss Grace A. Crawford, Bulkeley High School, Hartford, Connecticut, Chairman of the State Latin Contest.)

On Saturday afternoon, May 13, 1950, the representatives of the schools entering the competition met at the Hartford Public High School. After two hours of intensive work in the assigned classrooms, they were served refreshments and given an opportunity to meet and visit with one another. As planned [*this report is written in the past tense from a program in the future tense—Ed.*] the students were to meet in the school auditorium and receive a greeting in Latin from Mr. Goodwin B. Beach, one of the country's most fluent speakers of Latin. A short movie on Rome was then to be shown.

The material rewards for the winners consist of three prizes in each of the four divisions, representing each of the four years of high school Latin. The winner of first place in each year receives \$20 and a book, of second place, \$15, of

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AMICI USQUE AD ARAS

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DOUBTLESS SOME READERS of this journal will recognize in the words above, the title and refrain of a Yale song which has won the distinction of wider diffusion than is the lot of most such productions of undergraduate inspiration. It passed over from its earliest appearance among the songs of Yale into the collections of other colleges, and its melody was widely adapted to become the musical vehicle of the alma mater songs of several colleges, like Cornell's "Far Above Cayuga's Waters." Its origin at Yale goes back to the founding of a long since defunct Greek letter society, Phi Theta Psi of 1864, which adopted the Latin words as its motto, and then incorporated them into its fraternity song. The words are of the conventional type, conveying the assurance that the fraternal bond shall ne'er be broken by anything but death—*amici usque ad aras*, where *aras* apparently was thought of as signifying the grave or tomb, a meaning not uncommon in Latin poetical diction. The melody, like most college songs, was borrowed—from a then popular sentimental ballad, lamenting the untimely death of "Annie Lisle," in much the same vein as her more famous and more melodious sister, "Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt," who is still remembered.

This brief record is set down merely to note the rare survival into the present, so far as I have observed, of this ancient phrase or proverb. In fact I was not aware that it was "proverbial" in character, nor that it was ancient and had a history to boast, until a year or two ago, when my friend and correspondent, Professor Robert K. Richardson, of Beloit, asked me what I knew about the source and meaning of the phrase as used in the Yale song. I thereupon looked into possible Latin sources, and finding no trace of it replied with regret that I could not help him, and that as for its meaning, it would not occur to me that it could be other than as

assumed in the students' song, "faithful to the end." Fortunately Professor Richardson was not deterred from further inquiry, and a year later came back with a triumphant Eureka! From a reference given him by Mr. E. A. H. Fuchs of the editorial staff of the Merriam Co., publishers of the Webster Dictionaries, to their edition of 1909, indicating that the saying was attributed to Pericles, his suspicion of Plutarch as a probable source was aroused. The life of Pericles failed to yield it, but he had at length located it in one of the Moral Essays, where it appears as a saying of Pericles: Asked by a friend to give false witness in his behalf, he replied, *μέχρι τοῦ θωμοῦ φίλος εἰμὶ*, words which an early translator of Plutarch renders, *usque ad aras amicus sum*. This observation did then in fact settle the question of source, but the question of meaning in that place is still not at once perfectly clear.

On the face of it, and with the significance attached to the words in the students' song, one's first thought might well be that Pericles meant to assure his friend that he was prepared to remain faithful to him to the uttermost, even to giving false testimony under oath. Yet, as will appear, Plutarch cannot have meant to accept so dishonorable a pledge in the mouth of one of his heroes. First of all let us see what was implied to a Greek ear in a context like this in the word *altar*. The Greek word here has nothing to do with death or the tomb, as the Latin *aras* might suggest, but refers specifically to a procedure of Attic courts in swearing witnesses "to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." In making oath the witness approached and touched the altar, a gesture analogous to kissing the Book, or swearing on the Book, in Christian usage. The practice is illustrated nicely by the story told (by Cicero and others) of Xenocrates, whose uprightness of life was a matter of common knowledge to all Athenians. When on occasion he was summoned to give testimony in some trial, as he advanced toward the altar to swear in the customary manner, the judges as one man cried out that he need not make oath, so confident were

they of his perfect truthfulness. The altar is thus, like our Bible, the symbol of perfect truth, or of God's law.

The treatise of Plutarch which contains this reply of Pericles bears the title *περί Δυσωπίας*, literally, "concerning shamefacedness," or as the 17th century translator quaintly renders it, "bashfulness," (*Moralia* 528C). It is defined as timidity in self-assertion pursuant to one's feeling or conviction, such as to acquiesce in another's will or judgment contrary to one's own. In section 6, proceeding from trifling to more important examples of this defect, Plutarch instances the applause that is often given by guests to manifestly bad singing, or to the hired actor who murders Menander. A man of more resolute character will at least sit quietly and not join in false praise. For if a man has not learned to express his own judgment in such things, presently he will be acquiescing in the will of others in serious matters, such as supporting a candidate for office under another's pressure, or yielding to importunity in the marriage of a daughter, or even involving himself in treasonable conduct toward the state. "For my part, (he continues) I cannot even approve of the well known saying of Pericles, who, in reply to a friend asking him to testify falsely in his behalf, said, 'So far as the altar I am your friend'; for in so saying he comes quite too close to the altar." The reservation which Plutarch here makes is explained in the ensuing words of the chapter. He recognizes of course that Pericles sets a limit to devotion to his friend's cause, and stops short of the altar; that is, of false witness. What he does censure is Pericles' willingness to promise support in any degree to a man who could make such a request. For as he proceeds to explain: the man who is known for his firm stand upon his own convictions will not become subject to dishonorable entreaties from anyone. The meaning and intention of Plutarch is beyond doubt, and obviously the saying which he cites was current in praise of Pericles, not in censure. However its language would have been clearer if it had contained some particle of restriction, like "only so far as the altar,"

which in fact is present in another version of the same saying.

This is found in the third chapter of Aulus Gellius, book I, which is devoted to the ethical problem, whether in time of need one may deviate from strict rectitude in helping a friend. Not to enter into the argument as debated in citations from Cicero and Theophrastus, who had both written *de amicitia*, he quotes (presumably from Theophrastus) the same saying attributed to Pericles, in somewhat different words: cum amicus eum rogaret ut pro re causaque eius falsum de iuraret, his ad eum verbis usus est: Δεῖ μὲν συμπράττειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τῶν θεῶν "It is to be sure our duty to lend aid to our friends, but only so far as (is consistent with) God's law." Though the content of these words is identical with Plutarch's meaning, yet them seem less like a spoken reply, than like a generalizing paraphrase of the saying itself, which one might imagine had just preceded in the context from which it is drawn, —the specific and familiar φίλος εἰμὶ becoming συμπράττειν τοῖς φίλοις, and the concrete βωμοῦ made universal with τῶν θεῶν, to embrace all situations which transcend right. That is, the particular instance of Pericles' reply is transformed into a general precept.

To complete the evidence for the occurrence of the phrase in antiquity, we may add its repetition by Plutarch in his *Apothegmata* of Kings and Commanders (186 C), and finally its inclusion in one of the Byzantine Paroemiographi (II, p. 523). This latter example is so far as I can discover the only recognition before modern times of the saying as possessing universal and proverbial character. I find no trace in Latin literature of the saying, which search in the wealth of examples, under *ara*, *amicus*, *adusque* in the Latin Thesaurus, would seem likely to reveal if it had been used.

The definite recognition of the saying in modern times as a proverbial expression belongs apparently to Erasmus in his *Adagia*. He apologizes for the inclusion of it, as being merely the dictum of a famous man, yet justifies it because of its genuinely proverbial quality. Under the caption *usque ad aras*

(iii, 2, 10) he cites both Plutarch and Gellius, and interprets the words as limiting the duty we owe to friends, *ne numinis reverentiam violemus*. The *Adagia* (1500 and many succeeding editions) was one of the most widely read books of the 16th century, and one may suspect that most early examples of the phrase either directly or indirectly owe their origin to it.*

The learned editors of the *Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases* (Cambridge, 1892), without naming either Erasmus or the ancient sources, give two early examples, which in somewhat fuller context are worth transcribing. Thos. Elyot, himself under suspicion of faintheartedness in the cause of Protestantism, in 1536 writing to Thos. Cromwell, minister to Henry VIII, says: "I therefore besече your goode lordship now to lay apart the remembrance of the amity betweene me and Sir Thomas More, which was but *usque ad aras*, as is the proverb, considering that I was never so much addict unto hym as I was unto truth and fidelity toward my soveraigne lord, as godd is my judge" (Croft, *Life of Elyot*, p. cxxx). A second example is from a sermon of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, of 1585, on the character of Cornelius, "Captain of the Roman band," (Acts. 10. 21). "Neither did he fear to send for Peter to teach him the religion and faith of Christ . . . The Romans had forbid by law that any subject should profess or receive peregrinam religionem . . . Yet Cornelius had learned that it is better to obey God than man, that we must obey princes *usque ad aras*, as the proverb is, so far as we may without disobeying God." The situation of Cornelius was not unlike that of thousands in the time of Erasmus, who throughout Europe were daily confronted with the conflict between private conscience and public or ecclesiastical authority—a characteristic signature of the 16th century. Of nearly a century later an example from

Wm. Penn (*Fruits of Solitude*) makes lucid explanation of the phrase: "In short, choose a friend as thou dost a wife, till death separate you. Yet be not a friend beyond the altar, but let virtue bound thy friendship; else it is not friendship, but an evil confederacy." These last words seem to be a direct echo of Cicero (*de Offic.* iii. 44): *nam si omnia facienda sint quae amici velint, non amicitiae tales, sed coniurationes putandae sint*.

Over against these examples of the true meaning of the phrase as defined by Erasmus from the ancient sources, it became early transformed into a sense quite the opposite of its original meaning, that is, of "a friend, faithful to the end, to death, to the last extremity, etc." As early as the *Familiar Letters* of James Howell, 1645 and later, examples of this usage appear. Thus a letter which bears the date of 1635 (Jacobs, p. 420) concludes, "Farewell my dear Tom, have a care of your courses, and continue to love him who is—yours to the Altar." Again, p. 665 of the same edition, "I am yours as much as any wife can be, or rather than I may conclude with the old Roman Proverb, I am yours, *usque ad aras*, yours to the Altar."

Doubtless beyond this time many other examples of the phrase may be found, but I have looked no farther. As is the nature of proverbial sayings, their life is on the lips of man rather than in books. I should however be grateful for other examples of our phrase in either sense as it may be found in later literature, English or European generally.

LATIN JOINS THE COLD WAR VIA RADIO

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THE USES TO WHICH Latin may be put are numerous, but probably few have thought of its possibilities as a weapon in the cold war. Those who make it a practice, from time to time, to listen by short wave radio to the verbal assaults hurled from nation to

* It may be noted here that Erasmus, in citing Gellius, whether from confusion of memory with Plutarch, or from some (improbable) variant in his text, read *μέχρι βουών* in place of *μέχρι τῶν θεῶν*, the Mss. reading without variant. From this error the plural *aras* may have been derived in place of *aram*, which was to be expected.

nation around the world expect to hear almost any language issuing from their loud speakers except Latin. Yet, for a brief second on February 3, 1950, Latin was the language in use on the Voice of America's Russian program. The following is an English translation of that portion of the Russian script¹ which brought Latin into the war:

In the January 7, 1950 issue of the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, in the section, "From the Latest Mail," is printed an item beginning with the following words:

"The name of Comrad Obukhov is almost never absent from the pages of the newspapers. It seems there is no one about whom the Communist Regional Committee newspaper, *Kommunar*, writes so frequently."

This has to do with the first secretary of the Regional Committee of the All-union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Moscow District.

In censuring the Regional Committee secretary, Obukhov, who is not distinguished for modesty and who accepts flattery directed at him as something due him, *Pravda* concludes its item with the following words:

"Comrad Stalin teaches that modesty, not arrogance, is the mark of the Bolshevik. Flattery, glorification, immoderate rapture, and servile fawning are inherently foreign to the Bolshevik press."

But now, let us cite samples of titles from numbers 23 and 24 of the magazine, *Bolshevik*, from December of last year. There one notes the following epithets: "Leader of Progressive Mankind," "Great Inspirer and Organizer of the Victories of Communism," "Genial Regimental Commander of the Great Civil War," "Great Architect of Communism," "Great Leader and Teacher of the Communist Party and the Soviet People," "Creator of the Collective Farm System in the USSR."

Or let us take a glance at Soviet newspapers, including *Pravda*, and view these headings: "Leader of World Communism," "Great Leader of Nations and Teacher," "Father of the Laboring World," "Inspirer of Construction," "The Best Friend of Art," "The Coryphaeus of Science."

This comparison, it is assumed, requires no

comment; one cannot refrain, however, from reminding the luckless Regional Committee secretary, Obukhov, of the ancient proverb which goes: *Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi*² [followed by Russian translation].

Yes, flattery, glorification, immoderate rapture, and servile fawning are indeed foreign to the Bolshevik press.

NOTES

¹ The Russian script was made available by courtesy of Vestel Lott, Special Assistant, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State, U.S.A.

² In the Russian text this quotation is written in Russian characters, which indicate that *quod* is to be pronounced *kyod*, that the *c* of *licet* is to be rendered as *ts*, and that the *v* of *Iovi* and *bovi* is to be given the sound of English *v*.

"THE CLASSICAL SUN STILL SHINES"

The annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South comforts a confused and unhappy world with assurance that the spiritual and intellectual sunshine of the ancient world still stream through our windows.

Here are men and women from many parts of the nation bearing testimony that Greek and Latin are still understood, that its literature is being disseminated, and that in the wisdom of another age guidance for the present is sought.

Many persons are saddened by the decline in the classical languages that has taken place. It has been a gradual decline, and began in our own country probably as far back as the 18th century. The day is far behind when men read and wrote Greek and Latin and tossed classical phrases about as readily and as forcefully as the slang of the moment.

The arguments for teaching Greek and Latin, and for turning back and stepping up the emphasis, are well known. With our own tongue an off-shoot of them, the keenness of mind that goes along with the understanding of the meanings of words is gained by knowing Latin and Greek.

There is another factor of comparable significance. The devices of thinking take various forms in different languages, and the ability to express thoughts is increased by familiarity with the speech of other peoples.

And again, Dr. Johnson remarked that while "science," by which term he meant what we call facts, can be transmitted by translation, poetry defies translation. Oratory he included in "poetry," and in a way philosophy falls there, too. So if we are to retain the wisdom and the spiritual forces that classical languages possess, we still must master them.

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

CENA ROMANA

WHAT ON EARTH is that girl doing over there holding up her hands and looking as if she were saying a prayer?"

"Oh, that's Barbara Jackson. She is saying a prayer. She is going to ask the blessing at that Roman banquet that Miss Davis' Latin classes have. They wear sheets and drape them like togas, have a great big meal that they eat with their fingers—they act just like the old Romans. And they get out of afternoon classes! Gee, I wish I took Latin."

This is one of the comments one hears as preparations are under way for the annual Roman banquet.

The banquet is given in the school cafeteria where the food is prepared by the cafeteria staff. Students of the Latin department plan the menu in cooperation with the Latin teacher and the cafeteria manager. Girls in the home economics classes study the foods of the Romans, the methods of cooking and serving, the arrangement of tables, and other customs so that when the big day arrives, they are very much interested in going to the cafeteria to help serve the meal in Roman style.

For several weeks preceding the banquet the Latin students are also studying Roman private life. They adopt the name of a Roman character and do much reading to find out what place he had in Roman history. All available reference material is put on reserve in the library and Latin students are introduced to research in a modest way.

The ninth hour has arrived. Home Economics students have become ancillae; Latin students have become nobilitates. As they enter the cafeteria they see the highly polished tables beautifully decorated with gay, colorful flowers. Tables are arranged around three sides of a hollow square and food is served from the inside, across the table. This has been a surprise to the home economics

girls, as they have learned in class that they must serve and remove from the left. Silver spoons are the only articles of silverware on the tables as students have learned from their reading that the cutlery was in the kitchen and skillfully used there by the cooks; hence, guests used their fingers.

Students dressed in Roman togas (made of Mother's best sheets) and guests, the principal and assistant principal and a Latin professor from a college in the city, gather at the tables. So far, we have not been able to secure couches for reclining purposes and guests have to content themselves with sitting on the regular cafeteria stools.

"Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here" sung in Latin, starts the meal off with a flourish. After the songs the gustatio is served. This consists of whole boiled eggs dipped in olive oil, or French dressing served on lettuce. Carrot strips and olives accompany the eggs. Grapefruit juice, sweetened with honey, is the white wine for the course. Finger bowls are brought in because the students have learned that the Romans used finger bowls after each course. Each guest has brought his own napkin. A fish salad with crackers comes next. Again the finger bowls are brought in and removed. Just before the main course is served the blessing to the Lares is given in Latin. The familiar lines from Book 1 of the *Aeneid* are used.

This year for the main course these young Romans enjoy chicken pot pie with the crust made from a recipe by Cato for cheese cake. Italian bread sticks, purchased from an Italian bakery, green beans, onions, slaw and red wine (grape juice) complete this course. Finger bowls appear again and then at last comes the *secunda mensa* consisting of apples, raisins, nuts and hard cookies.

The convivial spirit is manifest. Between courses each student is introduced by his Latin name and as he is introduced he tells a bit of his personal history. Rex Bibendi

throws the dice to see what proportion of water is added to the red wine, as no comissatio is to follow this dinner.

Garlands are passed and each guest at the banquet puts on his garland. Perfume is sprinkled around liberally to prevent the guests from becoming intoxicated, according to the Roman belief.

Though high school students of today have seen in the movies elaborate meals of ancient days, they are surprised to learn that the Romans had many meats, fruits, and vegetables that we think of as rather unusual.

This Roman banquet has become one of the school events which is eagerly anticipated. It affords an opportunity for splendid cooperation between the home economics department, the cafeteria, and the Latin department. Students all depart saying "Iterum, iterum."

MARTHA SHELTON DAVIS

*Memphis Technical High School
Memphis, Tennessee*

POEMS IN LATIN COMPOSITION

ALL LATIN TEACHERS are familiar with the question, "Well, *why* can't I use that word? It is given in the back of the book."

For years I have tried to explain the different shades of meaning of Latin words. Just when I think I have the ideas settled in the students' minds, someone will ask the same question over again.

This year I am trying a plan which seems so far to have met with some success in making the shading of meaning easier for students to understand. We are translating some poems into Latin. This gives the student the chance to go over all the words and to make a selection of poetic words.

Last year, while we were preparing a program for presentation, we translated a popular song for one of the students to sing. They seemed to get the idea that there must be a selection of suitable words, not just any words that appear in the vocabulary.

This year we selected for our classwork some poems in free verse, which is much easier to translate. One reason for our selection of these poems was that they were written by an alumnus of our school, Weston McDaniel. The students are interested in his work at present.

The first poems selected had mythological references, which also made them suitable for Latin classroom work.

The classes seemed very interested in going over the list of words and finding those that gave the exact meaning of the poem. They even tried, so far as possible, to find words having the same number of syllables.

I am adding here two of the translations which may give an idea of the selection of words. These are by no means perfect, but I think they have made the students conscious of the necessity of the choice of words.

CEREUS NOCTURNUS

In truncum caligatum palmae,
Tendit cereum carpere,
Qui noctem mediam
Notat flore

Est non manus certior
In umbra
Improvisio
Tangit angues frigidos in nido. . .
An sunt cirri comae,
Flati Medusae capite?

Hac nocte,
Amittit terrorem anguim,
Nam nunc angues florere scit.

FULMEN CANUM

Specta tacite sciurum cauda librata vento
Unguibus fixis cortici.

Specta diligenter sciurum dentibus acribus nuci,
Oculis intentis accipitri
Cordi concento parvulis.
Specta diligenter . . .
Sonus . . .
Fulmen canum ad nidum suum!

FLORA E. LYNN

*Clifton Forge High School
Clifton Forge, Virginia*

Ed. Note: So that our readers might follow Mrs. Lynn's interesting experiment more

closely, we are printing below the original verses from which the Latin was translated. We are indebted to Mrs. Lynn for her good offices in obtaining the author's permission to do this. Mrs. Lynn points out: "We changed the wording a little in several places in order to have it nearer the rhythm of the poem, but we did not try to make Latin poetry."

NIGHT-BLOOMING CEREUS

"Cereus Nocturnus"

Against the booted palmetto trunk
She reaches to pluck a cereus
Which tallies midnight
With its bloom
Her hand is none too sure
in darkness. . . .
unawarely,
she touches a nest of cold, green serpents. . . .
or is it strands of hair,
blown from Medusa's head?

Tonight,
she loses her fear of snakes,
for now, she learns that serpents bloom.

From *Dark Windows*, by Weston McDaniel
(Carleton Press, San Antonio, Texas, 1942)

GRAY LIGHTNING

"Fulmen Canum"

Watch silently the squirrel with tail poised to the
breeze,
Claws pinned to the bark.
Watch closely the squirrel with teeth sharp to the
nut.

Eyes vigil to the hawk,
Heart tuned to her young.

Watch closely . . .

A noise . . .

Gray Lightning to her nest!

From *Look to the Sun*, by Weston McDaniel
(The Beech-hurst Press, Inc., 296 Broadway, New
York 7, N. Y., 1947)

LATIN CONTESTS

(Continued from Page 394)

third place \$5. The names of all who receive honorable mention for grades over 90 are published in the newspapers.

The rewards for winners in the third and fourth year have been considerably enhanced by

generous offers of scholarships from many colleges in Connecticut. Wesleyan University and Trinity College each offer a \$300 scholarship to a senior boy winner; Fairfield University offers full tuition. If the senior winner is a girl, she is eligible for a full tuition scholarship at Albertus Magnus or St. Joseph's College or for tuition aid at Connecticut College for Women. This year the colleges have agreed to extend the same scholarship offer to the junior winner who would then use it in the alternate year, in which there is no contest. Of course it is stipulated that the recipient of the scholarship must meet the entrance requirements of the particular college. This otherwise unqualified offer leaves no room for doubt of the confidence college administrators have in the future success of students who demonstrate outstanding ability in Latin.

The contests have been going on for some time. The first one was held in 1936 in Hartford, and thereafter they were held biennially in New Haven, West Hartford, Waterbury, Wallingford at Choate School, Willimantic, and West Haven. Even in the war years with transportation problems very great, the contests were popular. An increasingly large group of public, private, and parochial school pupils have participated. In 1948, sixty-six schools entered 330 students in this event. In the earlier years there was a separate contest for private school students. They now prefer to compete on an equal basis with the others and do not have a disproportionate number of winners. In the interest of fairness and impartiality, teachers in schools or colleges outside of Connecticut set the examinations. All of them are members or former members of the New England Classical Association and have volunteered their services in a generous spirit of cooperation with our enterprise.

The costs of the contest are met by personal contributions by members of the association, a \$3 registration fee from each entering school, and from time to time, by the generous support of newspapers. This year, the *Hartford Courant*, which is well known for its interest in educational projects, is donating \$100 toward the prizes. This paper, and others in the state are generous with space giving publicity to the contest. One feature has been the publication of statements about the value of Latin by various prominent citizens. Governors, senators, the chief justices, college presidents, and business men have spoken very warmly in support of the study of Latin.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ARTICLES

IN OUR DECEMBER issue (Page 127) Mrs. Eugenia Wilson Newlin suggested a round-up of magazine articles that would be of special interest to Latin teachers.

Thanks to the Rev. Lloyd R. Burns, S.J., of the University of San Francisco, and to Miss Jennie Lewis of Scott High School, Toledo, Ohio, for the following combined list of articles in the *National Geographic* magazine.

- September, 1915, "The Historic Aegean."
- June, 1922, "The Splendor of Rome."
- June, 1922, "Constantinople Today."
- December, 1922, "The Glory that was Greece."
- April, 1924, "Legends of the Pontine Marshes," "Italy," "Carthage."
- July, 1928, "Unspoiled Cyprus."
- October, 1929, "The Bosphorus."
- October, 1930, "Virgil, Perennial Geographer."
- December, 1930, article on Greece.
- December, 1935, article on Horace.
- March, 1937, article on Rome.
- October, 1938, "Augustus—Emperor and Architect."
- March, 1940, "Modern Odyssey in Classical Lands."
- March, 1943, "Malta Invicta."
- March, 1944, "Greece."

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

(Continued from Page 387)

ganized, group of citizens, mostly intellectuals, who refusing to accept the Soviet way of life, have steadily withdrawn as far as possible from contact with communist elements and have sought to maintain some traces of the culture of the past in the secrecy of their homes. Because of their hatred of the Soviet government, these persons have consistently sought to avoid any work which would actively contribute to the promotion of the Soviet cause. Many of them have been able to accomplish their purpose by securing positions as translators and ghost writers. 'When Latin

was needed in the universities,' concludes the writer, 'they became teachers of the Latin language.'

UNDER THE DATELINE Carthage, French North Africa, March 11, an item contributed by Col. Brady tells how the French are uncovering Hannibal's city as an attraction for American tourist dollars. "Pick and shovel crews, directed by trained archaeological experts, do the preliminary probing into layers of centuries of silt and sand . . . After the first gingerly probing, American-made excavation machinery scoops off hundreds of tons of dirt. Then the final cleaning is again taken over by hand as laborers lay bare the marble staircases, stone baths and other ruins of the once glorious capital." This well apportioned activity of busy archaeologists (qualis apes . . .) reminds one of Vergil's account of the building of Carthage.

Instant ardentem Tyrii, pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
pars optare locum texto et concludere sulco

TWO OTHER ITEMS of archaeological interest contributed by Col. Brady. From Jerusalem, February 11, comes word that the site chosen by Israel for its new government buildings has been identified by recent excavations as the camp used by Roman soldiers "after their triumph over the Judeans and the destruction of their Second Temple almost 2,000 years ago." From Rochester, N. Y., February 25, an account of a display at George Eastman House demonstrating the use of photography to detect ancient buried ruins. Archaeological material was discovered through aerial photography in Mesopotamia by British fliers during World War I, and sites in England have subsequently been discovered through photographs from the air.

PICK-AND-SHOVEL MAN, one who "looks down his nose at the arm-chair savant just as in the army the front-line soldier scorns the dog-robber at headquarters," is the designation given Professor George E. Mylonas by Ralph Coghlan's "St. Louis Letter" in the POST-DISPATCH of April 17. The article tells the fascinating story of Professor Mylonas' career as an excavator and interpreter of ancient Greece, with some account of

a number of sites at which he has done distinguished work: Eleusis, Akropotamos, Hagios Kosmas, Olynthus. He plans to return to Greece next year on a sabbatical leave, where his office will be a subterranean chamber which he discovered some years ago in the Eleusinian sanctuary, "a nice, air-cooled retreat where Mylonas can pore over his specimens, make his notes and contemplate man's antiquity."

LATIN WEEK 1950 received, as regularly in recent years, a tribute in the form of an editorial from the pen of Editor H. J. Haskell of the *Kansas City STAR* (April 17). The decline in importance of Latin as compared with certain other subjects in the modern curriculum is viewed in the light of its lasting importance for mental discipline, interpretation of history and government, and the understanding and use of English. "Latin is not the dead language it was once held to be. It is full of interest and excitement when taught as it should be, not only as a discipline to help us control our minds but as an introduction to present day living."

W. C. S.

TRENDS AND EVENTS

(Continued from Page 378)

The student is asked to spend about \$10.00 a semester for books, with a choice largely from *Everyman's* and the *Modern Library* at \$1.25 each. That makes about eight books a semester. In general the students spend two weeks on a book, but considerable flexibility with regard to the time on each is allowed.

Professor Hopkins devoted some time to specifying the authors and amounts of reading for each semester, after which he remarked, "Very useful, I am sure, to all our instructors is the meeting every week or ten days in which the next book to be taught is discussed by the instructor best qualified to give the background and analysis. This gives us all a chance to discuss the book. The leader usually suggests assignments. The individual instructor is free to adapt as he sees fit."

This course on the Michigan campus has proven popular and effective. It is restricted to about 200 freshmen selected by the counsellors. Gradually it will be introduced to upper classmen, who will meet three times a week instead of four.

Professor Hopkins summarized the advantages which the instructors have been convinced obtain over the anthology:

(a) If the whole work is not read the student will at least be able to know and see exactly how much has been left out.

(b) Instructors have much more choice in how much or how little to give from one or another book. This has particular advantages when instructors are chosen from different departments and there is a desire to let each instructor express his own enthusiasms.

(c) In cases where a good deal of a volume is necessarily omitted, such as Herodotus, Aristotle, Tacitus, Don Quixote, Dante, the good student is likely to read on, through curiosity to know what is beyond.

(d) At the end of the year the student has a group of books, small but valuable, with which to begin a collection; a nucleus of a library of his own.

A vote taken in Professor Hopkins' class showed that Homer, Plato, and Greek plays rated first in the list of works for the first semester. And for the year as a whole these three, plus Shakespeare, held the top of the list.

This brief résumé does not do Professor Hopkins' talk justice, but it will help freshen the memories of a large group that attended the Friday forenoon session and will recall the delight of listening.

To all this may be added other good listening: "A Summer at the Academy in Rome," by our Semple Scholarship student, Miss Lucille Cox; "The Delight of Latin" by John G. Hawthorne of the University of Chicago, and a discourse on the original theories of John Dewey by our editor Norman DeWitt. This "columnist" rises to suggest that Professor DeWitt's talk, "The Sun Will Still Rise," appear in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* before the Flaming God has disappeared too many times below the western seas.

D.S.W.

Readers and prospective contributors are reminded that henceforth all general editorial matter should be addressed to Professor Clyde Murley, 629 Noyes St., Evanston, Illinois. Correspondence pertaining to subscriptions should be addressed to Professor Korfmacher (see the inside front cover of this issue for details).

BOOK REVIEWS

AGE OF THUCYDIDES

GRUNDY, G. B., *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, Volume II: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1948). Pp. xvi+256. 25 s.

STUDENTS OF Thucydides owe Professor Grundy a debt of gratitude for the stimulating manner in which he presents the studies of Thucydides. Volume II has been published recently, thirty years after the publication of Volume I. Professor Grundy is well known as one of the outstanding students of Thucydides.

In Volume II Grundy does not seem to be satisfied with the methods used today in the study and interpretation of history. He expresses the conviction that in judging the work of any historian, two things must be taken into consideration—the author's individual nature and the intellectual interests which were active in his age and society (xiii).

With this end in view Professor Grundy discusses the intellectual interests of the Periclean age in the first four chapters. The headings of these chapters are Humanism: The Spirit of an Age, Thucydides the Man, Thucydides and the Philosophy of History, Religion in Greek Life. These contemporary interests doubtless had a great influence in shaping the philosophical elements found in Thucydides' history.

To make his work a lasting possession Thucydides, as shown by Dr. Grundy, dealt with thoughts that are fundamentally true to the experiences of human beings and nations everywhere and in every age. In short, the background of the history is the study of human conduct in the state, the antagonisms of the belligerents, and the activities of men under the sway of emotions, passions, and prejudices.

The moral effects of the Peloponnesian war have been described by Thucydides (iii, 82). He states that self-interest dominates all

men. Piety, honor, and veneration had fled from the earth. True to the ancient Greek tradition, Thucydides thought that even in the midst of such conditions happiness could be found in self-restraint and moderation. The type of humanism that would achieve this end was of such a sort that concessions should be made by men in political and social life. This type of humanism according to Grundy was new with Thucydides. But Solon, Theognis, the gnomic poets, and all dramatists taught the observance of prudence, temperance, and moderation in all things. The internal and spiritual nature of happiness had been the theme of philosophers from Heraclitus onwards. As a matter of fact the grand ethical problem to the ancients at all times was how to acquire happiness.

Dr. Grundy in Chapter III quotes and interprets several passages from Thucydides to show the purely practical content of his philosophy and the absence of any expression of idealism from the history. In the same Chapter (36) he states that Thucydides wrote not under the influence of the drama. The belief is general that the poets and dramatists had already anticipated certain aspects of philosophy which served to make an easy transition to the philosophic ethics of Thucydides' time so that this influence must have affected the historian. At any rate as far as form of the drama goes, modern writers believe that Thucydides looked at the whole war under the scheme of a tragedy (Jebb, *Essays and Addresses*, 436, n. 2).

In the chapter on Religion in Greek Life there is given a good summary of the religious life of the people at the time. It is true, as Grundy states (84), that Thucydides believes in the importance of religion in a well-ordered state. But religion cannot be said to have exerted a great influence in the lives of the people of his age. When the Melian envoy

threatens Athens with divine vengeance, the Athenian replies that the gods take as much as they can from each other and will not look askance if men do the same thing. This belief, with some exceptions, may have been a popular one. The most that can be said about the age is that wickedness and worship go hand in hand.

In Dr. Grundy's studies in Volume II one finds in the first four Chapters definite characteristics of the author indispensable to the study of his history. A few of these characteristics may be stated. Thucydides does not seem to have any dogmatic religion. He has a contempt for those who resort to oracles and divination when rational grounds fail. He does not seem to have a definite system of ethics. Other writers say that Thucydides' ethical comments are at times wanting in warmth and depth of feeling when they are not definitely cynical. Thucydides believed that human nature remains always the same and that no artificial conventions of law and religion could be imposed upon it. It is on this belief that he bases his conception of his-

tory teaching by example. In human conduct superiority in reason is the surest ground for confidence. Thucydides chronicles events but pronounces no judgment.

The last four chapters of the study deal with The Strategy of the Decelean and Ionian Wars, The Topography of Thucydides, Parties at Athens During the Peloponnesian War, Sparta in the Latter Half of the Fifth Century. These chapters are also an example of scholarly accomplishment.

The chief merit of these two volumes is that they give all the materials necessary for a complete philosophical, religious, and historical study of Thucydides. Seven topographical maps and 23 plates are supplementary materials serviceable for the study of the history. Volume II has a good index. It has a eulogy of Thucydides in poetry, of twenty-two stanzas of four lines each. These stanzas show Dr. Grundy's poetic ability inspired, of course, by the love for his author.

JAMES DUFFY

Washington University

LATIN FOR CATHOLICS

DEFERRARI, ROY J. and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH, *First Year Latin*: Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company (1947). Pp. xvi+304 \$2.00.

IDEM, *Second Year Latin*: Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company (1948). Pp. xi+350. \$2.48.

THESE ARE the first two volumes of the Marian Latin Series, a proposed set of four high-school Latin texts for Catholic schools. The series joins company with two older sets of texts in the same field, the original editions of which have recently been revised: the Graves Series (also published by Bruce, Milwaukee) and the Henle Series (published by Loyola University Press, Chicago). All three sets add selected readings from ecclesiastical Latin to the customary readings from the Classics.

The aim of *First Year Latin* is "to teach the fundamentals of Latin grammar as a prepara-

tion for reading Latin with some degree of facility" (page v). The year covers fundamental forms and syntax, has a basic vocabulary of 600 words and readings consisting of "made" Latin, Christian Latin (optional), and some simplified selections from Caesar's Helvetian Campaign. The presentation is logical and there is a good deal of repetition. The authors introduce first-year pupils to two different systems of pronunciation, the Roman (page 3) and the Italian (page 60). This seems to violate their avowed principle of economy according to which nothing was to be included that they did not "consider worth teaching and important for the first year" (page v). This reviewer has always found the attempt to teach less mature high-school minds more than one system of pronunciation disappointing, let alone confusing. Even where only one system is taught, it can and should be made clear that there are others.

Second Year Latin is constructed upon the conviction "that Latin can be so taught that the students will derive pleasure in reading it and that the satisfaction consequent upon this ability will stimulate an abiding interest in language and literature" (page v). Part I gives the general historical background for the understanding of Caesar's Gallic War. Part II has a brief review of first year forms and vocabulary. To some this small amount of review matter may seem insufficient. There follow readings from Caesar's Campaigns against the Helvetians, the Belgians and the Veneti. Each campaign is divided into lessons with vocables, idioms, review grammar, new principles of syntax, and exercises for drill. An attempt is made to cope with the "vexing problem" of vocabulary by supplementing each section of reading with a list of Words

for Mastery. Part III includes a generous amount of ecclesiastical Latin from the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass, and from some of the more familiar hymns and prayers. Sixty pages of inflections and syntax are appended (231-290). At least this much will have to be repeated for the third and fourth years, so that the printing of a separate companion grammar for all four years would seem to have been justified.

Not until the complete set of texts has appeared will one be able to make a really valid appraisal of the Marian Latin Series. From the first two books, however, it appears safe to say that the new texts will take a place side by side with the recently revised Graves and Henle series.

CHARLES T. HUNTER, S.J.

St. Louis University

HALICARNASSIAN IN ROME

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *Roman Antiquities*, vol. 6, translation by EARNEST CARY based on version of Edward Spelman (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (1947) Pp. 372. \$2.50.

WHEN THE GREEK rhetorician and historian Dionysius came from his native Halicarnassus to Rome during the reign of Augustus after the close of the period of civil wars, he had a purpose in mind—to reconcile the Greeks to the rule of Rome. He had a theory of history quite appropriate to a Greek rhetorician, i.e., that history is simply philosophy teaching by examples. While giving lessons in rhetoric he cultivated association with most of the distinguished men of Augustan Rome. He devoted twenty-two years to a study of the Latin language and to preparing materials for his great history. Like his greater contemporary Livy he believed that the true greatness of Rome lay in her extraordinary and colorful history. The great deeds of men of old—this too was his theme, but with a difference.

Whereas Livy was a native Italian writing from a patriotic point of view, Dionysius was,

after all, but an admiring foreigner. The latter sought to reconcile the Greeks to Roman rule by stressing the noble qualities of their conquerors; the former sought to reconcile the old Republican tradition with the glories of the Pax Augustana.

Dionysius began his *Roman Antiquities* with the legendary foundation of Rome, as did Livy, but unlike Livy he brought his work only as far as the beginning of the First Punic War. Like Livy he too has consulted the best authorities and conscientiously weighed their evidence. As in the case of Livy his work has come down to us only partially—of the twenty books only the first nine remain entire, the tenth and eleventh are nearly complete. Fragments of the remaining books exist in later excerpts and epitomes.

The Loeb volume under review is number six of the projected seven. It is thus a continuation of the translation of Dr. Earnest Cary, based on the English version of Edward Spelman originally published in 1758. Since vol. v of the Loeb series ran only part way through Book ix of the text of Dionysius, we find vol. vi beginning awkwardly with chapter 25 of Book ix, continuing to the end

(chapter 71) of that book, with Book x following entire. The opening words of chapter 25 and therefore of this vol. vi are "The following year, about the summer solstice," but through an unfortunate editorial oversight, neither in the margin nor in a footnote is the reader, thus launched in medias res, given a clue as to precisely what year this is. Indeed, not until chapter 37 (p. 45) is there a footnote giving a date, in this case the 77th Olympiad, 471 B.C.

The text is constituted on the basis of Jacoby with the care already exhibited by Cary in his previous volumes. The frequent emendations of Jacoby, Kiessling, Reiske, Sylburg, Cobet and others are either incorporated in the text or given in the apparatus criticus. Especially to be noted are the exceedingly apt suggestions of Prof. L. A. Post, one of the American editors of the Loeb Classical Library. These are not only paleologically plausible but are distinguished by common sense and a real feeling for the text. There is no point in lengthening this review by debate on whether this reading or that is better, but the reader of this volume would do well to note the ingenious variants. One especially, *βουλῆς*, suggested by both Capps and Post in ix.44.7, leads (pp. 70-71) to what is perhaps the longest single footnote in a Loeb volume.

In ix.50.3 (pp. 86-87) the Greek *πρόμαχοι* is rendered in the English translation by the Latin *antesignani*, which then has to be explained in a footnote. Why not 'shock troops'? That is essentially what they were.

The events narrated from Book ix.25 through Book x cover the years 474-448 B.C. (Livy ii.51.4-iii.38.2). They include much of the inconsequential, seasonal, back and forth fighting in Rome's seemingly interminable wars with the neighboring Veii and its Sabine and Tyrrhenian allies on the one hand and the Aequians and Volscians on the other. Dionysius has skill enough as a writer to turn what might otherwise have been mere pedantic chronicling into a brisk and vivid narrative of raiding and foray tactics reminiscent of much of the Valley of Virginia skirmishing in our own Civil War (cf. especially ix.61-66).

The "human interest" touches are not lacking either. For a lesson in officering and a wonderful example of goldbricking read what happened to the command of Appius (ix.50); how a great plague affected the fortunes of war (ix.57); the removal of the Sublician Bridge in the defense of Rome (ix.68). Reminiscent of John Brown at Harper's Ferry is the daring night raid of the Sabine Appius Herdonius, who actually seized the Capitolium and summoned slaves and debtors to his banner and freedom (x.14); the story of Cincinnatus at the plough (x.17), better known to us in the version of Livy iii.26. But the long story of Siccus and his heroic veterans who put the consuls to shame (x.44-46) is not found in Livy; for this we are indebted to Dionysius alone.

The prevailing theme, however, of these action-filled years is the continuation of the old struggle for power of the plebeians against the patricians which culminated in the appointment of the Decemviri (x.55). Nowhere is the ability of Dionysius as a rhetorician better revealed than in the closely reasoned speeches he puts into the mouths of the principal protagonists. The haughty speech of the consul Appius against the tribunician power is countered by the ringing affirmation of the tribune Laetorius, who in phrases reminiscent of Demosthenes sounds the eternal note of freedom from the oppressions of a tyrannical privileged class and asserts the power of law over all of high and low degree alike (ix.44-48). The consul Quintus mediates with a common-sense solution worthy of British genius for compromise (ix.49). After years of politicking and speech-making the constitutional crisis is resolved—ten tribunes instead of five, and a tribune first dares to convene the senate (x.31). In their respective accounts of the appointment of the Decemviri there is a slight discrepancy—Dionysius names three of the Decemviri as plebeians (x.58); according to Livy iv.3.17 all ten were patricians.

In any event, comparison with Livy is inevitable. In recent years there has been a growing appreciation of Livy as a conscientious historian, something more than a teller of tales in glorious prose. Dionysius has suf-

ferred by comparison. His work, once more highly prized than now, has recently been dismissed as merely an "elaborate rhetorical composition" (v. article D. of H., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*). But surely no one can read his vivid narrative and find it so hollow as that. Granted his imperfect knowledge of early Roman conditions; the same must be said of Livy and the earlier annalists. Dionysius, who "recalled to his age the literary standards of classical Greece" (*OCD*, loc. cit.)

has left us a priceless opportunity—the chance to compare two spirited accounts of the same events told from different points of view and with different purposes. In him we find the play of a fine, critical Greek mind falling on the same canvas of history. Though Dionysius must yield to Livy the palm of popularity, it cannot honestly be said that he fails in interest.

RAYMOND T. OHL

Temple University

THE YEAR'S WORK

FLETCHER, G. B. A. (ed.) *The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1939-1945*: Bristol, England, J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd. (1948). Pp. xv+203. 10 shillings.

BETWEEN 1906 and 1940 thirty-two issues of this useful bibliographical annual had appeared. The present volume now ties together the years of the war. To be sure, many have had access to successive issues of Marouzeau's *Année Philologique* and Bursian, as far as they go. The value of the *Year's Work* lies in providing a handy summary, by specialists, of the various fields, so that anyone may readily discover the essential contributions.

There are eight sections,* of varying length and coverage. History and Latin literature make the bulk of the book, which mentions over 3500 publications. To Greek literature is devoted only a (selective) description of new texts and new editions, spiced with the reviewer's personal remarks. Presumably the next issue will discuss books and articles on Greek literature. Rose's section on Greek religion proves the most readable, the superscript numerals alone reminding one of a bibliography.

The following suggestions are offered to the editor for what they may be worth.

* These are: I Greek Lit., by P. Maas; II Latin Lit., by G. B. A. Fletcher; III Greek History, by F. W. Walbank; IV Roman History, by H. H. Scullard; V Religion, by H. J. Rose; VI Philosophy, by Dorothy Tarrant; VII Greek Archaeology, by T. J. Dunbabin; VIII Italian Archaeology, by A. W. Van Buren.

There should be a more detailed and more regular contribution on linguistics (in the broader sense). Classicists have now lost the pre-eminence they once held in this field; they can learn from others, and mention of these recent researches could be handily treated in *YWCS*. Further, all phases of classical investigation, excepting possibly archaeology, depend ultimately on linguistic data; linguistics is the fundamental discipline of the entire field. These topics should be reviewed: general linguistics; indices, concordances, lexica; onomastics in all its aspects; word-studies (semantic, statistical), phonological studies; morphology and syntax; historical and comparative linguistics ("comparative philology").

Neither Marouzeau nor Bursian bothers about Modern Greece (last reviewed in *YWCS* in 1937, previously 1916). Two aspects ought to be of more than casual interest to the Hellenist: local dialects and toponymy, and studies of folk-lore and folk literature. Could we hope for an occasional section on these?

The impressively learned criticism by Fletcher about previous conjectures (cf. 21.1, 27.1, 27.9 from bottom, 29.15, 29.28) causes me to wonder whether it might not be useful to issue a periodical (every five years) collection of new readings, conjectures, etc., for Greek and Latin literary texts, something like what is enjoyed by papyrologists in the *Berichtigungsliste* of Fr. Preisigke (I 1922, II 1934 ff.).

Minora: at page 81, line 8 read Sjöqvist; at 65.2 from bottom, read Krahe. Page 48, 13 from bottom: Truesdale's *Comic Prosopographia Graeca* has no place in this (History) section. Despite its doubly misleading title, the book deals with a largely linguistic matter. Page 77.3 from bottom: Dobó's first edition

had a slightly different title. Page 129, note 7: a third volume is to appear.

An excellent and readable bibliography, and, in places (e.g. pp. 2, 6, 122) one with occasional stimulating contributions.

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WRATH OF HOMER

MACKay, L. A., *The Wrath of Homer*: Toronto, the University of Toronto Press (1948). Pp. ix+131. \$2.50.

THE SURPRISING title of this book reveals its thesis. The wrath of Achilles, as argued by the author, is a special invention of Homer or the poet who wrote the *Iliad* in the form in which we have it. Mr. MacKay makes clear that he is fully aware of the difficulty of doing the thing he is undertaking to do. He says, for example (page 48):

The discussion must necessarily bear a very tentative character. To say what a national or social group of people "must have done" is risky enough, but there one's guesses may have the support at least of statistical probability; to say what an artistic genius "must have done" is little short of foolhardy. The genius is a man who does something that no one else would have thought of doing, but which, once done, is perceived to be right. The rehandling of ancient myths may be full of profit for the poet; for the historian it is full of perils.

Again (page 51):

Who would venture to reconstitute one of Plutarch's *Lives* from no other material than a Shakespearian play? Are we to think Homer an artist of such limited ability that we cannot conceive of him omitting and expanding and rearranging episodes, inventing minor scenes and characters, as freely, as confidently, as competently, as Racine or Shakespeare?

Of course, one answers the second question here readily enough that Homer belongs with the genius class and can do with his materials what seems to him good and right. But the first question, the reconstitution of a work of art made of myth and history and the separation of the fiction from the fact, is a

task of a very different order. Mr. MacKay still further makes clear how well he understands the problem by another comparison on the same page:

When Van Gogh works on a theme from Delacroix, the more closely we study the surface of the picture, the more we see of Van Gogh, and the less of Delacroix. . . . But if all the paintings of Delacroix, and even his very name, had disappeared, if it were only a matter of surmise that the Van Gogh painting was based on a theme from an earlier master, we should be justifiably tentative about attempting to reconstitute the earlier picture, all the more so if only one other work of Van Gogh had survived, and that disputed, and if numerous able critics maintained that neither picture was the work of a single hand, but the joint product of a school, and much retouched.

These quotations reveal how clearly Mr. MacKay has realized the fundamental difficulties in the task he has undertaken. They have, however, not deterred him from undertaking it. First, he has written a critical examination of the historical background of the *Iliad* in which he has attempted to establish, on such evidence as he can find, several things; in particular, that Epirus or northeast Greece, not Thessaly, was the home of Achilles and his story. Second, that there were two main lines of contact between the Cretan and later civilization: one to the Adriatic and the West: the other from northwest Asia over the Hellespont through the Danube valley into central Europe. Third, that civilization reflected in Homeric poems, particularly the *Iliad*, was an urban and a trade civilization rather than, as has been so often supposed, one of piracy and brigandage.

The case which Mr. MacKay makes for a commercial society is a strong one, perhaps

the strongest feature in this first chapter on the historical background. The argument is full of "perhapses" and "ifs" and "we do not yet know," and shows that the author is quite aware that he is on tentative ground.

Mr. MacKay next examines "the historical legends, and attempts, as he says (page 54), "to twist a rope of evidence from a number of separate strands" in support of his thesis that the wrath of Achilles is a special invention of Homer for the *Iliad*; that this theme had or may have had no part in the legends of the Trojan War, which constitute the background of the *Iliad* as we now have it.

Historical Background

THERE IS NO SPACE and no necessity in this review to restate the arguments woven into a "rope of evidence" by Mr. MacKay. The several items have considerable weight, although one constantly questions whether the evidence we have proves the point the author would have it prove. For example (page 71), after he has summarized the evidence on the participation of the gods in the action, either on the Trojan or Greek side, he says:

It seems reasonable to suggest that copious personal intervention of deities represents an earlier, less sophisticated stratum of legend than the more remote control the gods vouchsafe to the affairs of Agamemnon and Menelaus.

This is far from certain to me. I should have expected the facts to be what they are in, for example, the greater contact between Achilles and the gods than Odysseus and the gods or Agamemnon and Menelaus and the gods in the story as we have it, and so for Hector on the Trojan side. The roles assigned to these men are such as to necessitate the greater use of the gods in their stories than in the parts played by the others. Early and late probably have little or nothing to do with it.

Mr. MacKay is fully aware of the tenuousness of his whole case, for he says (page 102):

Small and scattered as the individual items cited in this chapter may be, their combination points to the belief that some important elements in the historic populations of Argos and Thebes, and of those peoples who played a major part in the

Iliad, were previously settled, perhaps for a considerable time, in the region about Epirus, and that in that region several famous legends first took shape.

He goes on to say that the findings of archaeology may support or discredit the thesis, but has not much hope that archaeology will either confirm or deny his argument. He concludes this section with this pertinent sentence (page 103):

In such matters perhaps the chief requirement of a theory is that it simplify and unify and illuminate the evidence with which it deals; and this it is hoped the theory here offered is able to do.

We agree that he is right in the chief requirement of a theory, that he has done well to formulate the evidence for his theory, and that some light is thrown on the *Iliad* by this examination.

MacKay goes so far as to try to show that the Achilles-Patroclus friendship story arose in Epirus. He also attempts to show that Ilios was a town or village in Epirus; that Hector and Alexander (Paris) lived there; that somehow a war or feud arose between the village of Achilles and Patroclus and that of Hector and Alexander; that somehow Patroclus was killed, and vengeance sought by Achilles for that killing was worked out in Epirus; that Andromache was the only woman involved in this vengeance story, if even she was involved.

Two Stories in One

Chapter Three, the main one for Mr. MacKay's purposes, attempts, then, to show how the *Iliad* was constructed in such a way as to blend two stories, one separate from the other and not connected until Homer connected them. These stories were the Achilles vengeance legend in Epirus and the Trojan War, having at once the romantic motivating in the recovery of Helen and the economic one arising from the strife between Asiatics and Europeans for the wealth of central Europe.

As so often happens when one finds an attractive thesis, one distorts the evidence to

support that thesis. Mr. MacKay has not escaped this danger. For example (page 109), he argues that there is a parallel designed by the poet between the abduction of Helen and the effort at her recovery and the taking of Briseis from Achilles by Agamemnon. In so doing he forces the word *ἄλοχον* (1 335 ff.) not only to refer to Briseis, but also to mean "wife," which it may mean and often does mean, and to mean wife in as definite and compelling a sense as it does when applied to Clytemnestra or Helen. I would suppose that the point made by Achilles is, rather, a sort of chance one on his part to the effect that there is a sort of likeness in his situation in relation to Briseis and that of Menelaus in relation to Helen.

MacKay (page 110) seems to realize himself that this is the truth, because on that page Chryseis and Briseis turn out to be nothing more than puppets, which certainly Briseis could not be if she were going to play the role assigned her on page 109. Or take another example (page 111 ff.). MacKay argues that as the days have gone by since the insult to Achilles by Agamemnon his resentment to the whole army because they did not take his part and have not done so at any time has become more and more intense. He attempts to support this by his summary of Achilles' speech to Patroclus at the opening of Book 16. To do so, however, he has to omit or disregard a part of that speech. I mean in particular lines 60 to 62, especially lines 60 and 61, in which Achilles says, "It is not well to bear a grudge forever." In fact, so near yielding in his wrath does Achilles appear in parts of this speech that Leaf in his commentary on Book 9, *Introductory Note*, argues that 16, lines 49-100, are in contradiction to Book 9, where Achilles seems utterly unyielding in his anger against Agamemnon and the army. Of course, Achilles has begun to yield in Book 11, and has expressed resentment of the submission of the army to the injustice being done by Agamemnon in Book 1 (lines 231-233). MacKay's argument on this point, in my opinion, is quite untenable.

Again, when he says (page 53): "The magnificent art of Homer can conceal, but it can-

not abolish, the fact that neither the prowess of Achilles nor the valour of Hector had the slightest effect on the fortunes of Troy," I suggest that Homer wasn't even concerned about this. He was not telling the story of the fall of Troy. He was not bothered about whether Hector could save the city in the absence of Achilles. His concern was the tragedy of Achilles, his wrath and how it affected his people, Patroclus and himself. In so doing he presented great men in great struggles, worthy each against the other in combat, though final victory is certain for the Achaeans. Time and again reference is had to the fact that Achilles was short-lived. But the poet is not going to tell the death of Achilles. He has no occasion to be trying to hide anything of the kind here suggested by Mr. MacKay.

The main task required of MacKay and the one which he labored hard to accomplish is presented in the opening pages of Chapter 3. This is to establish the assumption that Homer was the first one to combine a stark and more primitive tale of revenge of Achilles against Hector for the slaying of Patroclus and the Trojan cycle of stories. This is the heart of MacKay's thesis. He presses his materials unto his purpose, suggests that Homer created the pestilence at the opening of the *Iliad* and the independent and arrogant role played in that incident by Achilles in order to establish the connection between the two stories. He even goes so far (page 111) as to say that Book 1, and perhaps the first half of Book 11 "should be regarded not as a recapitulation of the well-known story, but something more like an Euripidean prologue, introducing a novel and original treatment of the legend."

Now, one will readily grant that an author like Homer would be free to introduce a novel and original treatment of a legend, and he may have done so in the case of the wrath of Achilles, but to ask one to accept Book 1 of the *Iliad* and the first half of Book 11 as something like a Euripidean prologue is going too far. So far as I know, MacKay is the first reader of the *Iliad* to suspect that we have this kind of a treatment of the legend in the *Iliad*. It is not surprising, therefore, that he

forces the materials in the quarrel scene—at least, as it seems to me—to try to prove his case.

The book is well and attractively made, almost entirely free of typographical errors, and MacKay is to be commended for his diligence in arguing a case that to me, at least, is quite new and as yet unestablished.

W. F. CLARK

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ON NEW TRANSLATIONS

CONSTRUCTION of courses in the Humanities, Literary Traditions, Greek Drama, and so forth, has become a normal preoccupation of members of the Department of Classics. In most cases, the selection and procurement of suitable translations adds to the difficulties of course construction. There is the problem of how much the student can be asked to pay, and the problem of getting the *right* text.

There are various first-rate anthologies on the market, but the instructor is necessarily limited in his course to the selections provided, and many of them he may not like, or may not need.

In a course in drama, it is difficult to procure separately issued plays. In the case of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, for instance, one may like the Gilbert Murray translation because of the sea-lyrics, but may find the translation of the *Medea* quite implausible. Since the setting is largely *en ménage*, a version in current American prose (such as W. R. Agard's forthcoming translation) may help to give the student a more balanced view of Euripides.

The solution to the difficulty seems to lie in more small packages—single plays, single dialogues of Plato, units with paper covers, wire-stapled, selling at not more than 50¢. Considerable progress is being made in this direction, as a visit to any large campus book store will show.

Special mention should be made, we believe, of the enterprise being conducted by the *Little Library of Liberal Arts*. Their policy is to produce small units at very moderate prices, and to avoid the overhead costs of the

larger publishing houses by cutting back on field representatives, advertising, and promotion in general. Many of our readers have seen, or used, the translations of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus and the *Andria* of Terence by Professor Frank O. Copley. They have, for the contemporary student, the great advantage of being eminently readable and, above all, *plausible*. Too many translations available to us lack this merit of plausibility.

Dr. Oskar Piest, editor of the *Little Library of Liberal Arts*, is steadily adding to his series. In the classical field, Plato's *Euthyphro*, *Apology*, *Crito* (translated by F. J. Church), *Meno Symposium*, *Theaetetus*, *Timaeus* (translated by Benj. Jowett, issued separately), Aristotle's *On the Art of Poetry*, and Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, in addition to Copley's translations, are available. Dr. Piest is anxious to add to his list, provided the item suggested is in sufficient demand. In a conversation, the undersigned suggested to Dr. Piest that there might be a good many private translations lying about in mimeographed form, or instructors might like to see their own translations in print. Dr. Piest assures us that he would be glad to hear from classicists (or others) who have translations ready, or who would like to make translations, of items that would run to something not over 75 pages, and sell for 50¢ or under. We need such items in the business of building new courses. (Dr. Oskar Piest may be addressed care of the Liberal Arts Press, 153 West 72nd St., New York.)

N.J.D.

"THE CLASSICAL SUN"

(Continued from Page 398)

We are aware, of course, that new sciences and new interests gradually turned school studies into other fields. It was not done by design, and we do not believe that a reversal could be effected by fiat.

However, we must ask ourselves how important those things are which we have put into our lives in the place of the ancient languages. Some of us believe that some things now filling up the time of boys and girls in the elementary and high schools could to advantage be dispensed with and Latin and Greek put in their place.

—Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 7, 1950. Reprinted by permission.

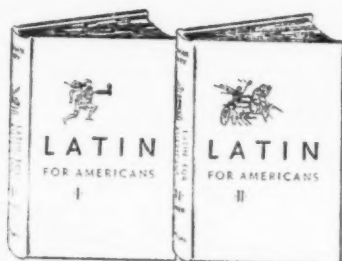
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